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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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27 August 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH LEADERS THANK ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS

AU021439 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania; and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania.

Dear Comrades: We want to express cordial thanks for the wishes extended on the 41st anniversary of Poland's Rebirth.

We also want to express the conviction that friendship and many-sided cooperation between the PZPR and the RCP and between the PPR and the SR of Romania will continue to develop and strengthen to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the community of socialist countries, the cause of peace and socialism in the world.

We want to take this opportunity to convey cordial greetings to you, dear comrades, and through you to the whole of the fraternal Romanian people, as well as best wishes for new successes in fulfilling the tasks of building socialism in Romania.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of the Ministers of the PPR; and Henryk Jablonski, president of the State Council of the PPR.

CSO: 2700/192

BULGARIA

YORDAN YOTOV SPEAKS ON SEVENTH COMINTERN

AU021851 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 2 Aug 85

[Quotation marks throughout item as received]

[Text] Sofia, 2 August (BTA)--Fifty years have passed since the convening of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, a congress which worked out new ideas and formulated the strategy and the tactics of the victory over fascism.

From 25 July to 21 August, 1935, representatives of 65 communist parties gathered in Moscow and in the then alarming international situation they stressed the necessity to consolidate all progressive and democratic forces and made a critical re-evaluation of the strategic orientation and of the tactical approaches of the communist vanguard of the planet. On 2 August, 1935 Bulgaria's great son Georgi Dimitrov delivered before the Congress his famous report "the offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the struggle for the Unity of the Working Class against Fascism." This report grounded the new strategy and tactics and the new political course of the communist movement.

An official meeting was held here today in connection with the 50th anniversary of the 7th Congress of the Communist International. Mr Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP and editor-in-chief of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO daily delivered a speech.

"The historic significance of the 7th Congress of the Communist International is determined by the time in which it was held", the speaker said. In the beginning of the 30's socialism triumphed in the USSR and the most reactionary forces of imperialism trying to find a way out of the deepening crisis of capitalism and to oppose the great attractive power of the example given by the Soviet Union, staked on fascism and began to intensively prepare for a new imperialist war. The main task of the communists then was to block the way of fascism and to preserve world peace. With this end in view it became necessary to consolidate all progressive and democratic forces."

Mr. Yordan Yotov pointed out that the historic work of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was the fruit of the collective efforts of the international communist movement and of a number of outstanding functionaries: Georgi Dimitrov, Dmitrii Mauilski, Otto Kuusinen, Wilhelm Pieck, Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Bela Kun, Klement Gottwald and others. The figure of Georgi Dimitrov stands out clearly among these people who represented the intellectual, political and organizational force of the communist movement.

Every mention of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern gives rise to feelings of class and national pride in the heart of every Bulgarian", Mr. Yordan Yotov said.

The speaker dwelled on the possibility grounded by Georgi Dimitrov to build a wide anti-fascist people's front uniting the proletariat, the peasants the petty bourgeoisie and the working intelligentsia, i.e., all progressive and democratic forces, stressing the intransigent actuality of these ideas.

"Leninist in its essence, the idea for establishing a people's anti-fascist front and of a united front in defense of peace acquires new dimensions today, he said. The common threat of thermonuclear annihilation widens to the maximum the social basic of the anti-war movement. The united front for peace can and should embrace all who are well aware that peaceful co-existence in the conditions of a real thermonuclear threat has no reasonable alternative. However, in order to establish this new and unusually wide peace front a completely new approach is necessary", Mr. Yordan Yotov pointed out.

The organization and initiatives of the wide people's front which has set itself the task to save mankind can vary greatly: from forums for discussing the issues of peace and war to coordinated activities in a separate country, region or on a world scale, the speaker said. He pointed to the international children's "Banner of Peace" assembly hosted for the third time by Bulgaria as an example of how to unite all who hate war.

Further on the speaker noted that the basic and decisive force of the modern world anti-war front is real socialism and above all the Soviet Union whose consistent and constructive policy is an important peace factor.

Mr. Yotov said that today socialist Bulgaria, true to the international mission of world socialism, is consolidating the sound family of the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union and is contributing to the strengthening of the organization of the Warsaw Treaty and of the CEMA. Bulgaria takes part with her own initiatives in the consolidation of the political climate in the world. Eloquent examples of this are her goodneighborly relations with all Balkan countries and the nationwide approval of the efforts of the party and state leadership for realizing the idea for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern is a favorable occasion for the international communist and workers' movement, for all progressive, democratic and peaceful forces in the world to re-assess the lessons of the congress in the framework of our times, Mr. Y. Yotov said by way of conclusion. And the wider the creative application of these historic conclusions and lessons in conformity with the historic conditions of the different parties and states, the more effective the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and war, for peace, democracy and socialism.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 2 Aug carries a report on the same event and adds that "Comrade Milko Balev, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, attended the meeting."]

CSO: 2200/182

BULGARIA

ILINDEN INSURRECTION DAY DISCUSSED

AU051520 Sofai NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Ilcho Dimitrov, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: "Feat Which Resounds in Time"]

[Text] The summer of 1903 is an entire epoch in Bulgarian history which equals another glorious epoch--the spring of 1976. The feat and self-sacrifice of the April heroes was a beacon and example of an epic and unequal struggle of the Bulgarians left under the Sultan's power after the restoration of the Bulgarian state by the heartless self-interest of Europe.

The revolutionary okrug of Bitola was the first to rebel. If was gwp July (2 August), the Ilinden holiday.

The insurrection of Bitola was drowned in blood, the burned villages smoked. The Krushovo Republic went down in history as a legacy for the following generations, after the revolutionary okrug of Odrin rebelled. It was 6 (19) August. Again a holiday--this time the Transfiguration [Preobrazhenie]. And again blood and fire.

After a month it was the turn of the revolutionary okrug of seres. It was 14 (27) September--the holiday of Krustovden. The pitiless and infidel oppressor smashed the sacred people's cause again.

The defeat was terrible. Nevertheless, the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie insurrection developed into a national epos. A real people's feat, it is permeated with the legendary heroism of the fighters and the tragedy of an unfulfilled dream. The spirit of Obirishte was present among the people's representatives who gathered in Smilevo and Petrova Niva to adopt the fateful decision. The names of Gotse Delchev, Dame Gruev, Nikola Karev, and Yane Sansanski, alongside those of Levski, Botev, Benkovski, and Kableshkov will always shine in the pantheon of Bulgarian liberty.

The national liberation struggle in Macedonia and its highest peak--the Ilinden--Preobrazhenie insurrection is a manifestation of the national consciousness of the Macedonian Bulgarians.

This consciousness is reflected without a shadow of doubt in the historical sources, the people's creativity, and in foreign testimonies. It has been proudly and worthily preached by all figures of the national revival--Father Paisiy, Neofit Rilski, and Miladinov brothers, Rayko Zhinzifov, Grigor Purlichev, Kuzman Shapkarev, and many others.

The foundations of the revolutionary organization in Macedonia were laid in solun [Aaloniki] in 1983. It was called the Bulgarian Macedonian-odrin Revolutionary Committee. The first article of its charter read: "Every Bulgarian, of both sexes, who has not compromised himself with a dishonest or weak-willed deed, and who promises to be useful for the revolutionary liberating cause can be a member of the Bulgarian Macedonian-odrin Revolutionary Committee."

The Bulgarian national consciousness and the pure Bulgarian patriotism of Gotse and his friends, and their loyal followers, are inseparable from consistent internationalism. They were apostles not only of the Bulgarians' Freedpm, but also of the freedom of all those who were oppressed within the Ottoman empire. "Our cause is higher than any national or tribal differences," reads the appeal of the Central Committee of the Secret Macedonian Liberation Revolutionary Organization. "Therefore we must regard as our brothers all those suffering in the dark kingdom of the Sultan. The Wallachians, Greeks, and even the Turkish peasants are suffering precisely as we Bulgarians do... Only the Turkish Government is our enemy."

With its ideological and tactical development, the revolutionary organization tried to unite not only the Bulgarians, but all those in Macedonia who were oppressed. The goal was to unite them in the name of the joint struggle against Ottoman despotism. The charter of the Secret Macedonian Liberation Revolutionary Organization stressed that "every Macedonian and Odrin Citizen," (and not every Bulgarian as the previous charter stated--author's note), could be a member of the revolutionary committees. The documents issued by the organization more and more frequently used the concept "Macedonians" as a general concept covering all inhabitants of Macedonia, of different nationality--Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks and Wallachians--having common interests against the common enemy--the despotic Ottoman system. It is obvious that the concept "Macedonian" (as well as Odrin-inhabitant) is testimony to the expansion of the program's social aspect and the tactics of the Macedonian revolutionary organization. If some Macedonian national characteristic or individuality, different from those of the Bulgarian people were meant, then the charter, as well as the entire propaganda campaign, would have clearly explained and analyzed them.

The liberation struggle of the Macedonian Bulgarians was a continuation of the Bulgarian national revolutionary movement under new conditions. The Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee of Levski

and Botev was an example for the revolutionary organization in Macedonia. The charter of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization was composed according to the example of the charter of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee. The Macedonian revolutionaries were inspired by the cause and ideals of Levski and Botev. Zakhari Stoyanov's book notes, was their text book.

The common characteristics and continuity between the national revolutionary movement up to the liberation and its continuation among the Bulgarians who remained oppressed today, are astonishing. There were common denominators in the ideological, organizational, and political aspects. The image and cause of Gotse Delchev naturally came close to the image and cause of Vasil Levski both in the eyes of Delchev's contemporaries, and in the eyes of the present generations.

Efrem Karanfilov brilliantly saw a common starting position in the lives of the national revolution's giants. Levski was an unfrocked priest and Gotse Delchev a degraded cadet. The two apostles had to overcome a certain dogma to be ready to create a revolution. Gotse as Levski strived to guarantee the independence of the liberation movement vis-a-vis external influences and factors, and rely on the struggle of the masses. He constructed a strict revolutionary organization based on the people's activity. He opposed adventurist acts of all kinds and prepared an insurrection which took under consideration the real internal reflection of the external factors. The leader of the Bulgarian national revolution was hanged before the revolution itself. Gotse Delchev was killed in a battle near Banitsa village, Seres Okrug, only 3 months before the insurrection.

The main differences between the Macedonian liberation movement and the national revolutionary struggle until 1977, was the existence of the free Bulgarian state. Its presence was a principal factor in the history of the Macedonian liberation movement, equal in its importance to the other main factor--the mass people's struggle. The Bulgarian state is viewed here in the broad sense of the concept, namely, administration, social movements, parties, army, and so forth. For all factions and figures of the Macedonian movement the Bulgarian state was a native state, the homeland of all Bulgarians. The difference was mostly in emphasis--what is to be stressed in the first place, the Bulgarian state or the revolutionary organization. Gotse Delchev stressed the internal organization without which the preparation of any insurrection would have been an adventure and would have created difficulties for the Bulgarian state. He used to warn: "We shall repay Bulgaria badly for its numerous sacrifices for us, if we force it barefoot into the fire."

The Bulgarian state gave exceptional confidence and scope to the liberating movement of the Macedonian Bulgarian. It was its stimulus, support, and basis. It supplied it with material assistance, weapons, and commanders.

However, free Bulgarian was not only a stimulus, ideal, basis, and support. It also created difficulties. The party struggle, the different governments' current political considerations, and the personal schemes and interests of the monarch and the groups connected with him negatively reflected on the people's struggle. The fear of the neighbors of a great Bulgaria reinforced the resistance of the Macedonian movement's enemies. They declared that a united Bulgaria will violate the balance in the Balkans. In the name of this balance and against the slogan of autonomy for Macedonia they raised the demand to divide Macedonia. What could the Bulgarian leaders do? Autonomy was considered beneficial only to Bulgaria. The revolution failed. There was no external interference. The only possibility left was the common struggle of the Bulgarian states against the Ottoman Empire. A common struggle was possible only against the denial of the autonomy and the division. The great powers were conducting a struggle for influence and each was interfering separately. Germany encouraged the irreconcilability of Bulgaria. The Entente advised a compromise, which would satisfy the neighboring states, without pushing Bulgaria in Germany's hands.

In the final account the refusal of the Bulgarian Government to agree to the Division of Macedonia and the military defeat of Bulgaria in the War between the Allies [Mezhdusuyuznicheskata] and World War I proved fatal for the liberty of the Macedonian Bulgarians.

Guessing the unfavorable consequences of the leading factors' interference, the revolutionary organization maintained its independence vis-a-vis the Bulgarian Government. It was a result of tactics and not of differences in the main goal.

However, the apostles of the Macedonian revolution were no naive and romantic figures. They knew that they could not overthrow the century-old empires. They hoped to attract Europe's attention to the Macedonian issue by their self-sacrifice, and neutralize the forces which traditionally defended the status quo, in other words, the injustice and despotism, and thus to activate situation which would have allowed Bulgarians to decisively intervene either at the negotiations table or on the battle field, and thus impose Macedonia's freedom...

The Ilinden-Preobrazhenie insurrection failed. Rising up in the name of liberty did not overthrow oppression. Expressing the willingness to unite did not prevent division.

However, do we judge the value of a historical event only on the basis of its success? History is full of the triumph over injustice and oppression. Nevertheless, mankind has always marched forward. It is the great merit of such people's movements, often without a chance, of success whose feat resounds in history even if their goal proved unattainable. It is such movements that made this march forward a constant and stable one.

CSO: 2200/182

27 August 1985

BULGARIA

OPPRESSION OF MUSLIM MINORITY REPORTED

Cairo AL-I'TISAM in Arabic Jun - Jul 85 p 37

[Text] A million or more Muslims of Turkish origin live in the shadow of the Bulgarian Communist regime. Faced with the barbaric Bulgarian Communist subjugation that they are subject to, the Turkish Muslims in Rodopi as well as other Muslim communities have begun to go up into the mountains and to remote areas in preparation for battle and for Muslim resistance against the Bulgarian Communist subjugating authorities in order to preserve their beliefs.

There have also been new incidents of explosions in the Bulgarian capital Sofia. They have included the main railway stations in the capital and in other cities 200 kilometers away.

News reports coming out of Bulgaria and published by the Turkish newspapers report that the Muslims have been confronting the Bulgarian army, which is supported by Russian forces, with sticks and stones. THE TIMES newspaper has reported that Bulgarian forces have killed over 2,500 Muslims during the past few days, and that Russian forces killed 200 people in one of the Muslim villages, and Communist forces are still surrounding the Muslim forces and raping women in front of their families, and that the Bulgarian regime does not pay the slightest attention to international protests, and that it is continuing to carry out its policy of "Bulgarizing" the Muslims and changing their names to Bulgarian names, and killing anyone who refuses to change his name.

What does the Egyptian Left in general, and the Egyptian Communists in particular, think about what the Bulgarian Communist regime is doing against Muslim human rights in Bulgaria?

Or is the matter American imperialist propaganda?! Radio Moscow is still saying that!

[Photo caption] Khalid Muhyi-al-Din -- Does he still believe that what happened in Bulgaria is a form of American propaganda against the Eastern European states, which is what the Marxists used to proclaim about Soviet crimes in Afghanistan.

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CSO: 4504/433

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

YORDANOV MEETS IOC CHAIRMAN--Sofia, 3 August (BTA)--Today Mr. Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, met the president of the International Olympic Committee [IOC], Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch, who is paying a visit to this country. Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch and Mr. Georgi Yordanov discussed issues related to the further development and deepening of cooperation between Bulgaria and the International Olympic Committee. They stressed the role of the Olympic movement in consolidating understanding and trust among the peoples in the name of peace. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1556 GMT 3 Aug 85]

FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER--Helsinki, 2 August (BTA Special Correspondent)--Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the P. R. of Bulgaria, had a meeting yesterday with Mr. Paavo Vayrynen, minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Finland. The Bulgaro-Finnish relations in different fields were discussed and their upgrade and mutual advantageous development was stressed. The great role of the bilateral top level dialogue and the particular significance of the meeting between Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and Mr. Mauno Koivisto, president of Finland, in April this year, were pointed out. Mr. Mariy Ivanov and Mr. Paavo Vayrynen, reviewed also some current international issues, including issues of the detente process as well. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 2 Aug 85]

GUYANA PROGRESSIVE PARTY GREETED--Sofia, 2 August (BTA)--The CC of the BCP has sent a message of greeting to the 22nd Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana (PPP). During its 35-year existence the fraternal party of the Guyana Communists with its selfless struggle against imperialism, colonialism and reaction, for national independence, peace democracy and social progress, grew up and consolidated itself as a prestigious force in the political life of the country. True to its international traditions, the PPP of Guyana is an active and consistent participant in the efforts of the patriotic and democratic forces of Central America and the Caribbean region to oppose imperialist pressure and the criminal policy of state terrorism pursued by the most reactionary U.S. circles, the greeting reads. The message of

greeting expresses the conviction that the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PPP of Guyana, will continue to develop and strengthen on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. [Text]
[Sofia BTA in English 1402 GMT 2 Aug 85]

ZHIVKOV MEETS WALLOON LEADER--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met today with Guy Spitaels, president of the Belgian Socialist Party--Walloon, who is vacationing in our country. During the conversation which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and frankness, they exchanged opinions on a broad circle of questions of the present-day international situation, relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Kingdom of Belgium, and contacts between the two parties. Information was also exchanged on the two parties' activity at the present stage. Particular attention was given during the conversation to questions of space, security, and disarmament in Europe and the world. The mutual desire and readiness for further development of contacts between the BCP and the Belgian Socialist Party--Walloon, and of relations between Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Belgium in different spheres were confirmed. Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 26 Jul 85]

LEADERS' PUBLIC APPEARANCES--Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 21 through 27 July notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts given in parentheses): Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a theoretical conference on the role of primary party organizations in Veliko Turnovo. (0900 GMT 23 July) Balev opened a new exhibition devoted to the life and work of BCP founding father Georgi Kirkov at the "Georgi Kirkov" Museum in Sofia. (1730 GMT 25 July) He met Juan Eduardo (Cunja), "eminent Spanish-Bulgarian and ardent champion of the dissemination of Bulgarian literature in Spain, who is visiting our country." (1930 GMT 26 July) Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was present at a Sofia meeting between Komsomol First Secretary Stanka Shopova and the Bulgarian delegation to the Moscow Festival of World Youth and Students. (1730 GMT 23 July) [Editorial Report]

PUBLIC APPEARANCES 27 JULY-3 AUGUST--Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 27 July through 3 August notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts given in parentheses): Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting of the Lovech Okrug party organization which discussed economic plans in the city of Lovech. Balev expressed appreciation for the efforts of the local workers to fulfill their working schedules. (1730 GMT 31 July) Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of ministers, attended a meeting of the Sofia local authorities which discussed energy-saving problems of the capital. (1730 GMT 31 July) [Editorial Report]

BBC JOURNALISTS' STRIKE REPORTED--The 24-hour strike by employees of the BBC, Britain's radio and television company, ended tonight. It was organized as a sign of protest against the management's decision to cancel a scheduled program on a conference concerning the situation in Northern Ireland. This was done under pressure by the government and, according to one of the corporation's commentators, has caused the most serious crisis in the BBC's 53 years. According to well-informed sources in Britain's capital, this strike, the first in the corporation's history, could lead to the resignation of several highly placed BBC officials. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0300 GMT 8 Aug 85]

TANCHEV RECEIVES INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS--Sofia, 25 July (BTA)--Mr. Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the State Council, received today the visiting Indonesian parliamentary delegation led by Dr. Harjantho Sumodisastro, deputy chairman of the Indonesian parliament. Mr. Petur Tanchev expressed his belief that the visit of the delegation will serve as a stimulus for the activation of the Bulgaro-Indonesian relations. He familiarized the guests with the socio-economic development of Bulgaria in the past forty years and her international activity. He stressed the efforts of this country for establishing an atmosphere of trust, friendship and cooperation not only in the Balkans but in Europe and in the world as well. Dr. Harjantho Sumodisastro pointed out that there are a number of favorable possibilities for strengthening the cooperation in the field of economy, agriculture, trade and also in politics. Both sides stated at the meeting that new forms for establishing broader relations between the two countries and better contacts between the two peoples can be found. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 25 Jul 85]

DEPARTING IRAQI AMBASSADOR--Todoj Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received 'Abd Husayn Ibrahim al-Rafa'i, Iraq's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to our country, in connection with his final departure from the country. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 2 Jul 85]

NUCLEAR EXPLOSION MORATORIUM--Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian broadcast as the first item in its main news program at 1730 GMT on 29 July 1985 the full text of the Gorbachev statement proposing a moratorium on nuclear tests, carried by referent item. Monitorable newscasts of Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian so far have made no mention of the U.S. invitation to the USSR to send an observer to the next nuclear weapons test in Nevada. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2200/182

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SCHOOLTEACHERS URGED TO PUSH SED POLICIES IN CLASS

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 40 No 13, Jul 85 (signed to press 25 Jun 85) pp 483-488

[Article by Dr Lothar Oppermann, head of the SED Central Committee's department of public education: "Comrades Make Intensive Preparations for the New Working Period"]

[Text] All the work in each kindergarten, school, teachers' training institution, extracurricular activity and home has totally been placed under the auspices of the 11th SED Congress preparations.

Work rich in accomplishment through instruction, in shaping and educating the young generation in the spirit of communist morality is being performed by the teachers, educators, the teachers of the teachers and the school functionaries, all headed by the comrades. This worthily joins the working people's mass initiative under the slogan, "High Achievements for the Good of the People and for Peace--Ahead to the 11th SED Congress."

Forming Efficient Young People

Through the positions they adopt and communicate to the SED Central Committee, and above all through their day by day work, pedagogues and teachers' collectives express their deep allegiance with party policy. They are assuming the obligation for making their contribution to the strengthening of the republic and, hence, the safeguarding of peace, through good training and education results.

Through these activities, purposefully released and directed by the party organizations, today's teachers and educators carry on the tradition of all the generations of teachers who have sought, with high dedication, to educate and train efficient and honest people ever since the German people's liberation from Hitler fascism and the democratic school reform. What matters to the pedagogues here is that the girls and boys are faithfully dedicated to the cause of peace and socialism and prove themselves conscious patriots and internationalists.

On the occasion of the festive meeting the Council of Ministers sponsored at this year's Teachers Day, Comrade Margot Honecker, minister for public education, affirmed: "We have every good reason to be proud of having created, under SED leadership and through the strength of all the people, an educational system that meets the standards of the age in making a significant contribution to the triumphant course of our socialist revolution." Those words confirm what the party organizations have done while they act as a challenge and demand for them to keep doing their best.

Revolutionary Traditions Are Fostered

The last school and study year was marked by the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people. Under that aspect the pedagogues--led by the party organizations--together with the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and together with many other social forces performed vivid political-ideological and pedagogical work.

It is of significance that here school youth was in various ways and through emotional impact made familiar with the Soviet Union's act of liberation and the antifascist struggle and was drawn through rich experiences into cultivating our socialist state's revolutionary traditions. By starting their "Ernst Thaelmann FDJ Rally" and the "Red Flag Pioneer Expedition," the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization developed a broad, educationally effective movement. At rallies and demonstrations the FDJ members and the pioneers demonstrated their commemorative tribute to the fallen heroes of the Soviet Union and of the antifascist resistance. Together with the Komsomol and Lenin pioneers they retraced the stretch of the Soviet liberators from the Oder all the way to Berlin.

Pioneers gave loving care to memorial sites and graves of fallen Red Army fighters. On 8 May, young and Thaelmann pioneers offered cordial regards and presents to members of the Soviet armed forces. All this greatly helped deepen the pride and love of all young people for their socialist fatherland and consolidate and extend the many bonds of friendship with the Soviet people and the Soviet Union.

Focusing at the 11th Party Congress

When the 1984/85 school year came to an end, the comrades in public educational institutions began to give much thought to the working period ahead, the 1985/86 school year, which is marked mainly by the preparations for the 11th SED Congress and the holding of the party elections. They assume in their political activities that these party congresses are not only high points in the life of the party but also milestones in our social development. Marching orders for preparing the 11th party congress were clearly set by the speeches of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the ninth and tenth Central Committee sessions, before the SED kreis first secretaries and at the 12th FDJ Parliament. What matters now is to continue the creative work at all public education institutions and all schools and achieve a still higher grade of educational and training work, based on the fine results and experiences each basic organization has gathered in the last few months.

The party organizations are confronted with the task to channel the open-minded and combative atmosphere and high dedication of the pedagogues into new initiatives and achievements in forming the people of our new socialist age. The party organizations will continue to give their central attention to political-ideological work, to carrying on the public debate in getting set for the party congress at a higher level.

Aggressive Political Mass Activity

The experiences in political work gathered during the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people and the tradeoff in what has been achieved in any of the facilities ought to be used thoroughly by each party executive. The core of vivid political dialogue in each collective of pedagogues here continues to lie in our deepening the realization: the stronger socialism, the more secure peace becomes. The party organizations continue to find their priority task in substantially familiarizing, through close cooperation with the trade union organizations and the directors, all pedagogues, pupils and students with the socialist states' peace initiatives, especially with the USSR proposals. Then they will deepen the realization that these peace-promoting proposals affect and orient the peoples' struggle for disarmament and detente over the long haul.

Unmasking the Forces of the Arms Buildup

The party organizations are sponsoring an aggressive and sensitive political mass activity in explaining the international situation. They are unmasking the mad designs of U.S. imperialism and are showing the dangers for humanity arising from preparing Star Wars. They are demonstrating the real possibilities existing for averting a nuclear inferno as well. They are letting themselves be guided by the fact that diverse, persuasive, mobilizing political mass activity is an essential prerequisite for channeling men's will to peace into deeds for socialism and peace. The party organizations reinforce the realization that negotiated results in dealing with imperialist states are determined essentially by the strength and might of socialism. It is up to each party organization, coming to grips through effective arguments and facts with imperialist policy and ideology, to scourge those forces that are advocating arms buildup and confrontation. That is all the more necessary because the confrontation and arms buildup course of the most aggressive imperialist circles is accompanied by an anticommunist campaign of the largest scope.

Penetrating the Party's Overall Policy

One basic experience has been emphatically confirmed by the party organizations' political-ideological work: The more deeply the pedagogues understand the entire party policy and its domestic and foreign policy, the more successful they can be in fashioning their educational and training work, in reacting in a class-bound manner to political events and persuasively answering the children's and adolescents' questions about topical occurrences.

Great importance attaches from this vantage point to the quality of all the political work, the party study year at the schools included, in which almost all teachers take part, to the whole political and intellectual climate at the public educational institutions.

Especially the SED kreis managements and party and trade union managements ought to promote the teachers' endeavors to become more familiar with the matters of economic strategy and scientific-technological progress. That is important. The teachers who, after all, are not for the most part working in production, still are confronted every day with questions from their pupils on problems of the working people's struggle for higher efficiency and productivity and coping with scientific-technological progress in the enterprises. They want to and have to take an authentic position on that. To help them in that mainly is a party organization task.

Instruction Remains the Chief Object

Achieving perceptible advances in all schools and public education institutions, in preparation of the the 11th SED Congress, in political-ideological work, in the education and training level, mainly in instruction itself, primarily comes down to being a demand made on the fighting strength of the party organizations and demands exemplary activities from each comrade. In seeking a higher grade of instruction, of extracurricular activity and of all pedagogical work, every initiative is wanted and is to be supported. The party organizations, together with the director and the trade union organization, see to it that every proposal and experience is thoroughly examined and everything is done to get good results out of each facility, each school, each grade, each subject, each hour of instruction. The pedagogues must always sense that their responsible work is not only welcome as such, but demanded, respected and conscientiously observed. Nowhere must there be any indifference toward their suggestions and problems or negligence in clarifying justified expectations and criticisms. Party management should also pay special attention to strictly supervising the securing of good conditions for education and training.

It is necessary that the comrades at each public educational institutions, in getting set for the new school year, give thought to how they will aim the substance, the style, the why and wherefore of the political mass activity ahead fully at carrying on the public debate in preparation for the 11th SED Congress. The point is to lend still more zest to the pedagogues creative efforts on behalf of a fine quality of their everyday pedagogical work and high-level instruction. In his speech before the SED kreis first secretaries (NEUER WEG, No 4, 1985), Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed: "Experience shows that the working people's great dedication partly is due to that they know what it is all about and what they can contribute concretely to fulfilling the party resolutions."

Further Enhancing Our Fighting Strength

Substantial intraparty life, especially intellectually demanding and combative membership meetings and rigid organization in party work, are the fulcrum and pivot of the party organizations' power of radiation into the pedagogues' and trade union collectives. Therefore the party executives, in getting set for the new school year and the party elections, ought to analyse carefully the ideological

and organizational situation in the party organizations, determine the most important chain links for further bolstering the fighting strength, and pay full attention to the comrades' education.

The political leadership activity level of the entire party organization has to be thoroughly assessed, and so also the effectiveness of each individual comrade, his political-ideological activity within the pedagogues' collective, his instruction, his contribution to realizing the party resolutions, which all has to be frankly and confidently dealt with through individual discussions.

Important orientations and impulses for practical party work at public educational institutions came from the 25 April 1984 SED Central Committee secretariat resolution on the report from the Berlin-Koepenick SED Kreis Management (NEUER WEG, No 10, 1984). There the tasks are emphasized which have to be resolved by the kreis managements, the basic organizations in all sectors of public education, enterprises, public institutions and state organs, relative to their responsibility for the communist education of youth and the development of the territorial public educational system.

Turning That Resolution Into a Basis for Work Planning

The party organizations in the public educational institutions should make use of the orientations and experiences in that document when they consider, plan and tackle the working period ahead.

It is more and more becoming a matter of regular procedure that comrades in the basic organizations of industry, agriculture and other public sectors are giving thought to how they as comrades rich in knowledge could pass on to youth the experiences in their lives and struggle. Under consideration are there, e.g., polytechnical instruction, extracurricular activities, socialist military education, sponsorships and other possibilities. It also pertains to their experiences as members of parents advisory boards and tutors in the FDJ study year or as discussion leaders in youth meetings. In his speech before the kreis first secretaries, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized: "Communists always feel a personal need to be among youth to convey there their own experiences in their struggle and lives."

Assisting Pioneers and FDJ Members

Worthwhile guidelines and suggestions for this work have come from the 12th FDJ Parliament. Each party organization in public educational institutions thus sees to it that each pedagogue thoroughly explores the content of ideas in the 12th Parliament and draws inferences for his own activity from it. "The close alliance between our youth association and the pedagogues has been among the best FDJ traditions for decades," as the 12th Parliament put it. The pedagogues have supported the most important concerns of the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization in the secondary schools in awakening pleasure among all girls and boys in creative work, learning and studying, in shaping political attitudes and a party-bound picture of the world, and in developing diligence and endurance and healthy ambition. Thereby they help form attitudes among children and adolescents in which is reflected that the efforts of learning and study are recognized to be what they are: an important investment in one's own future and the future of our republic.

The school party organizations regard as an important task to counsel the FDJ and Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization in fashioning a substantial and attractive political-ideological life, a creative atmosphere of learning. They enable the comrades to act in conformity with the principle that for communists there is nothing more beautiful than conveying their ideals and their experiences in the struggle for the happiness of the people to the next generation.

A high point of political mass activity and inseparable element of the public debate are the elections for the parents advisory boards and parents activists groups at the start of the new school year. Pedagogues and parents will then jointly consider the results achieved in democratic debate and make arrangements on how they can still more deliberately use the great opportunities of the school, the kindergarten and the family for shaping and educating the children. The parents' experiences, recommendations and suggestions must always be given proper attention. The school party organizations thereby deepen further the cooperation with the comrades of the party group of the parents' advisory groups.

Public Debate Moves Ideas and Actions

It is perfectly apt to say that the 11th SED Congress preparations are in full swing in all sectors of the public educational system. They move the thoughts and actions of the teachers and educators, are stimulating various training and educational initiatives, and are aimed at contributing to the further strengthening of the GDR and the safeguarding of peace through good personal efforts.

The tasks that will have to be coped with in the months ahead and in the 1985/86 school year are surely not going to be small. Yet each basic organization, each school, each educational institution has what it takes. Based on our party program, the scientifically founded program of our social development, the 10th party congress resolutions and the tasks and realizations of the Eighth Pedagogical Congress and the Central Directors Conference will continue to be implemented in honors and with success while the 11th SED Congress is being prepared through solid efforts.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ENVIRONMENTAL CLAIMS, DANGERS PUBLICIZED

Environment Minister Outlines Measures

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Jul 85 p 5

[Article: "The GDR is Proud of the 100 km Speed Limit"]

[Text] In Helsinki 18 European countries and Canada agreed to decrease sulphur dioxide emissions in their countries by 30 percent within 8 years. An agreement to that effect was signed by the environment ministers of the 19 countries on the second day of the conference for the protection of forests and the fight against acid rain. This protocol is an appendix to the 1979 Geneva Convention on air pollution covering wide areas and extending beyond national boundaries. This convention was signed by 34 countries from East and West, 30 of which have also ratified the document.

In Helsinki, GDR Environment Minister Reichelt pointed out that the signing of the protocol on lowering sulphur dioxide emissions is proof of his country's readiness to make an important contribution to environmental protection. Reichelt added that the measures passed in the GDR to desulphurize smoke emissions in power plants as well as long-distance and local heating plants using soft coal are of great importance in this regard. The GDR is especially interested in production methods that show a high degree of clean air emission as well as economical operation and that, at the same time, produce new raw materials such as sulphur, sulphuric acid, calcium sulphate and fertilizer products instead of new waste materials. The GDR is also interested in obtaining desulphurization technology from the FRG. Western experts estimate that the total annual sulphur dioxide emission in the GDR is approximately 5 million tons whereas in the FRG it amounts to about 3.6 million tons.

Reichelt said that it is the goal of GDR economic strategy to achieve dynamic economic growth and, at the same time, continuously reduce industrial waste. During the past 4 years the production of consumer goods in the GDR showed an average increase of 5 percent whereas industrial waste decreased by 6.2 percent. Recycling of industrial waste increased from 10 to 42 percent in the last 10 years. The enactment of a number of measures for air purification has already resulted, on one hand, in the improvement of working and living conditions for the working population and has, on the other hand, increased economic growth and the effectiveness of the national economy. Among these measures are

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especially those related to decreasing the consumption and avoidable losses of energy and to increasing further the utilization of secondary sources of energy that are practical on the technical-economic level.

The GDR environment minister also discussed the "damage done to forests especially in Western Europe" and he said that this is caused especially by the nitric oxide that combines with ozone production. Progress and effect of this damage are different from the sulphuric oxide smoke damage that has been investigated for 135 years and occurs in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, especially in the Erzgebirge mountains.

With pride Reichelt pointed out that in the GDR the speed limit for automobiles has been gradually lowered to 100 km/h on the autobahn and to 80 km/h on other highways, and that this resulted in reducing nitric oxide emissions by 13 to 15 percent. On an extensive scale the transport of goods has been switched from highways to railroads and waterways. At the same time the electrification of railroads has been accelerated. This has reduced nitric oxide emission from vehicles by an additional 20 to 25 percent. Finally, the carburetor adjustment controls introduced in the GDR in 1983 and the emission tests for all vehicles have resulted in a decrease of nitric oxide emissions by another 4 to 5 percent.

It is a fact, however, that automobile traffic in the GDR is responsible for not even 5 percent of the country's nitric oxide pollution because the 2-cycle engines used most often in the GDR cause only from 7 to 10 percent of the amount of nitric oxide emission that is produced by 4-cycle engines. Two-cycle engines produce other harmful pollutants that are not without danger for human beings. The GDR is therefore making long-range plans to replace 2-cycle engines with 4-cycle engines. Minister Reichelt said in Helsinki that this effort to change to 4-cycle engines is part of the environmental protection work of the GDR.

Author Renews Danger Warning

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German Vol 40 No 26, 30 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Dr Gottfried Mueller, editor-in-chief: "Opposing Chaos"]

[Text] One of these days Hans Cibulka's most recent book "Seedorn" will be available in bookstores. As some of his previous publications, this book too is written in diary form describing events on Hiddensee. The poet Gerhart Hauptmann is buried on this island. Cibulka takes his works as an opportunity to warn of the dangers that threaten mankind through war and destruction of the environment. On 15 June Cibulka introduced his book at a church meeting in Jena-Lobeda.

At nearly 65 years of age Cibulka displays a fighting attitude. He does not have exaggerated ideas of what literature can accomplish. But he wants to do his part in warning us of impending dangers. In "Seedorn" therefore he lets his imagination take over. One day the Baltic Sea from Luebeck to Gdansk (with Hiddensee right in the middle) is polluted by red amoebae whose unchecked

growth had been stimulated because the water had been polluted by an increased concentration of cobalt. Millions of fish and other ocean animals perish, people who eat the infected fish die also. This is still an ominous vision. But at the beaches of California the "red tide" has already become reality on several occasions. While discussing his book Cibulka gives the exact dates of these occurrences.

In "Seedorn" the author shows that he is strongly affected by apocalyptic premonitions that were enunciated already decades ago. Between 1936 and 1938, when Gerhart Hauptmann described the figure of Christopher who, according to legend, carried the young Christ across a river, he anticipated a nuclear inferno. "Today there are many rapid currents of destruction," says Cibulka. Nature has endowed man with many good talents but now he is turning against himself. Science and technology have taken great burdens from men's shoulders but these burdens were then given to others: to birds and fish, to dying forests. Creatures are too weak for these burdens, and together with his environment man himself becomes endangered.

Cibulka ends his analysis of growing dangers with an appeal to turn back. In discussions following his reading the writer must then answer the question as to what this turning back in fact implies. The person asking this question is immediately rebuffed: "Why don't you start thinking rather than ask the question: what should we do?" And then: "You young people always want a ready-made program. But there are no simple solutions!" Cibulka suggests that, in addition to thinking independently, people should also develop their imagination. For this development, Cibulka criticizes, not enough is done in kindergartens and schools.

A reader complains that the author, while dealing with present-day dangers in "Seedorn," is obviously neglecting his poetic style. "Perhaps you want to have a Cibulka who is without problems," the author counters. "Literature must always deal in some way with the cognitive process!"

With bitter irony the author makes it clear that the Cibulka dealing with problems has made not only just friends. At one time when he read from his works in Plaue, the county superintendent of schools forbade all teachers to attend the reading. Cibulka tells of this event with the realization that actions of this kind do not infringe upon his relationship with his readers. In spite of difficulties of his diary style, an edition of 20,000 copies is always a realistic possibility for his books.

Besides, he has become used to confronting, directly if need be, directors of councils, offices and industries when there is a chance to prevent harm to the environment. He considers it a credit to himself and the appropriate cultural organization that a new long-distance heating pipe crossing a park was placed underground and that a more appropriate place was found for a large dump site than a valley in the Thuringian Forest. He complains about the sluggishness of bureaucratic "machines" all over the world. In doing so, does he not at times overlook their efforts to improve conditions? Whatever the case may be--it is exactly by complaining and also by pointing out the lack of pertinent information in the media that he proves that small steps taken patiently are very important for anybody concerned with the environment. "I still believe that it is possible to resist chaos," he states emphatically.

POLAND

YOUTH UNIONS ACTIVE IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by (Sow): "Youth Unions Will Take an Active Part in Election Campaign"]

[Text] On 7 July a session of the Central Coordinating Commission (CKW) of Socialist Youth Unions was held to discuss the problems of the patriotic defense education of children and youth and the program and organizational-propaganda participation in the campaign for elections to the PRL Sejm as well as the preparations for formulating the ideological declaration of the rising generation.

At that session was adopted "Directions of Cooperation Among Socialist Youth Unions Regarding the Patriotic Defense Education of the Rising Generation of Poles." The CKW resolved to direct to all youth an appeal for the participation of the rising generation in the preparations for elections as well as in the act of voting itself.

The CKW appointed an editorial team for the purpose of drafting the text of the Ideological Declaration of the Rising Generation relating to the values and goals contained in the ideological-political declaration of the PZPR "What We Are Fighting For and Where We Are Going."

The deliberations of the CKW, chaired by the Chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Main Board Jerzy Szmajdzinski, were attended by Ryszard Wosinski, Leszek Lesniak and Antoni Dragan.

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POLAND

PAX MEETING REVIEWS PRON ELECTION DECLARATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 2

[PAP Communique: "Conference of the Aktiv of the PAX Association"]

[Text] On 6 July in Warsaw's Palace of Culture and Science the national pre-election conference of activists of the PAX Association took place, inaugurating the discussion of the Election Declaration of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth].

The Chairman of the Board of the PAX Association Vice Premier Zenon Komender stressed in his address the significance of broad public discussion of the principal current affairs, the country's complex problems and the fatherland's future. He declared that the Election Declaration of the PRON has outlined the main directions of the discussion of the present and future of socialist Poland, but it of a certainty is not a complete record of all the matters and problems. In this respect the declaration is open. All communities, and principally the signatories to the basic ideological-political documents of the PRON, will formulate proposals for the solution of the most important problems. This obligation also applies to PAX, the socially progressive movement of Catholics.

Z. Komender further stated that the socially progressive movement PAX has always been stressing that the political system of People's Poland should be based on acknowledging the leading role of the party of the working class, exercised in a coalition with the allied forces. The coalitional nature of state power should be developed.

The PAX Association should popularize and enrich the text of the Election Declaration of the PRON. The Sejm election campaign should become a nationwide plane for discussion of Poland's future as well as for creative disputes over development concepts for discrete domains of life. "Our task is to win public opinion over to the program of reforms, renewal and development prospects of Poland."

During the discussion special emphasis was placed on the tasks of the PAX Association relating to the election campaign, as ensuing both from the fact that it is a PRON signatory and from its own 40 years of ideological and political accomplishments.

The Warsaw conference inauguates a series of further meetings which will be organized by the PAX Association across the country in the course of the election campaign.

POLAND

NEWSPAPER STATES POLICY ON ELECTION COVERAGE OF CANDIDATES FOR SEJM

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by (r): "With Voting Regulations in Hand: This Is As It Should Be"]

[Text] From a letter to the editors by Mr. Eugeniusz Zaprzalek: "Please help, by analogy with the practice of the recent elections to people's councils, to have the electoral slates for the PRL Sejm provided with photographs of the candidates for deputies along with their brief vitae regarding occupational and social activities. I would like this to become a permanent requirement for all elections, since it promotes voting democracy." The authors of the regulations governing elections to the Sejm were unfamiliar with the wishes of Mr. Zaprzalek, but they specified as follows: "The proposed candidates for deputies are introduced to voters: 1. at public consultative meetings; 2. in the mass media."

The voting regulations also provided that, at these consultative meetings, not only are the candidates presented but also the vitae of all the candidates for deputies in a given election district and on the national electoral slate are made public. And Article 57 specifically states that: "Electoral conventions, in cooperation with the organizations nominating the candidates for deputies as well as with the appropriate agencies of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], will take steps to broadly introduce to voters the persons nominated for candidates on district electoral slates and on the national electoral slate; to this end, in particular, they shall avail themselves of the mass media and other accessible forms of information and propaganda."

Once the candidates for deputies are nominated, the press, radio and television will present them publicly. Independently of the public consultative meetings (considering that not all will have the time to attend them), posters with the photographs and vitae of candidates for our future mandate-bearers will appear on the streets of cities. I do not know about the other newspapers, but ZYCIE WARSZAWY will of a certainty present to its readers the pretenders to a deputy's mandate from all the election districts of the nation's capital and Warsaw Province. After all, voters need to know a great deal about those to whom they will decide to entrust their votes.

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POLAND

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS' PERFORMANCE UNDER NEW RULES DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Jul 85 pp 1,5

[Interview with E. Kolodziej by Wojciech Kazmierczak, PAP: "How the People's Councils Operate: Comments by E. Kolodziej, Vice Chairman of the Commission for People's Councils and Territorial Self-Government under the Council of State"]

[Text] The first year of the operation of people's councils under the terms of the new decree on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government, voted 20 July 1983, has now passed. The Council of State has recently evaluated the implementation of that important legal act. A PAP journalist has asked the Vice Chairman of the Commission for People's Councils and Territorial Self-Government Under the Council of State E. Kolodziej to comment on that evaluation.

[Below are Kolodziej's comments:]

In general, the first year of operation of the people's councils under the new rules is to be considered as successful. During that period they displayed considerable activism and discipline, undertook varied initiatives and developed new forms of activity demonstrating their ability for independent direction of the development of areas under their jurisdiction as well as for meshing local needs with national tasks and rationales. However, the picture of the activities of people's councils is not uniform nationwide. Differences exist among discrete councils both as regards the approach to implementing the decree and the dynamism and effectiveness of performance. They result from the particular economic conditions of discrete regions, but often also they ensue from differences in the organizational skills, commitment and activism of the councilmen.

All the councils have availed themselves of the innovation introduced by the decree by voting programs of action for their entire term of office. These programs enumerate the principal socioeconomic goals and tasks as well as the ways of accomplishing them. Toward year end the people's councils voted their first fully autonomous annual plans and budgets. The work on these plans as well as the voted plans themselves demonstrate the autonomy of the councils in determining and prioritizing the directions of the socioeconomic development of discrete regions. Special emphasis was placed on the tasks relating to the

meeting of urgent social needs for agriculture, housing construction, public health and education. There arose a discernible trend for exploring local potential for raw materials and promoting the realization of tasks important to the local population through public initiative. The extent of public initiative displayed last year increased by 38 percent compared with 1983 and exceeded 30 billion zlotys in value. For this year the value of that initiative is expected to exceed 39 billion zlotys.

Among positive changes in the performance of the councils so far should also be included the expansion of their control functions and the adaptation of their purposes and methods to local conditions and needs. An important instrument for the control of the councils over the implementation of socioeconomic tasks by administrative agencies is the new practice of adopting reports. All the province people's councils have adopted reports by province governors and city mayors, but there have been instances in which basic-level people's councils did not adopt reports.

Considerable discipline and activism are displayed by a majority of councilmen. More than 70 percent of them are freshman councilmen. Average attendance at sessions has exceeded 80 percent. The councilmen willingly participate in discussions at sessions and broadly avail themselves of the right to interpellate. It is noteworthy that the topics they raise are linked to input from voters.

The year-long experience warrants perceiving certain limitations on the implementation of the idea of complete autonomy of the councils as the principal factor in enhancing the efficiency of their performance. The financial autonomy of the councils, particularly of the basic-level ones, and their attendant full responsibility for funding tasks within the budgetary framework, still exists mostly in theory. The councils have no access to many sources of revenues. There is thus a need for decisions by the fiscal authorities to enable greater effectiveness of the self-government undertakings of the councils.

The people's councils exercise their governing functions by, among other things, planning. As a result of decentralization processes, though, they encounter problems in obtaining information on projects and production plans from all the enterprises and plants operating in their regions.

Further improvements also are needed in the control functions exercised by the councils. A particularly urgent task at present is applying the operating principles of worker-peasant inspection teams as a special form of control that combines professional with social elements.

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POLAND

GENERAL PROSECUTOR MOMOT DEFENDS OFFICE'S PERFORMANCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Momot, Prosecutor, General Procurature: "Further Comments on Legal Counselors" under the rubric "Postscripts to Our Articles"]

[Text] For several months now the press has been waging a discussion inspired by Marek Krupa's article "The Counselor and Incompetence," dealing with the performance of tasks relating to the protection of property by legal counselors. A position on a number of articles discussing this problem has now been taken by the Procurature General of the PRL.

The article by Marek Krupa, "Who is Harming Whom," published in TRYBUNA LUDU of 4 June 1985, will surely still elicit numerous polemics and widespread discussion, as did his previous articles on the work of legal counselors. This indicates that the issue in question is of major social significance.

In his first article (TRYBUNA LUDU, No 22, 26/27 January 1985) Marek Krupa pointed to the seemingly obvious truth that lack of legal supervision promotes crime. On the basis of the findings of a study, released by the Procurature General, of the quality of the legal services provided to enterprises with respect to deficits, he demonstrated the intolerability of a situation in which organizational chaos and unsettled legal problems--chiefly as regards the protection of property--at many enterprises, cooperatives and institutions result in pilferage of property and inefficient performance and complicate or even hinder the identification of culprits.

Editor Krupa has justly pointed out that it is difficult to blame entirely or chiefly legal counselors for this situation, since in many cases it is due to the incompetence or carelessness of the management, poor performance of internal audit units or owing to some other factors. Hence it is difficult to understand the polemical tone of Dariusz Salajewski (PRAWO I ZYCIE, No 18, 1985) who insists on proving that M. Krupa has committed an oversimplification by blaming legal counselors alone for this confused state.

Debating whether this or that of the examples cited by the author has been proved in its entirety or partially is hardly what counts most.

I believe that the most valuable observation contained in M. Krupa's articles so far is his pointing to the existence of the problem of legal services for

units of the socialized economy, particularly in view of a matter that is unusually important to practically every citizen of our country, namely, the protection of public property, and his comment that this problem requires a solution.

It is not my intention to reiterate the findings of the Procurature's study, cited by M. Krupa. These findings have been corroborated by recent studies of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] which, unfortunately, presented a huge number of additional instances of improper performance of legal services for units of the socialized economy.

This being so, and also considering that it is not to be denied that many legal counselors have considerable expertise in law and are well-intentioned, the causes of this situation must be more deepseated instead of being traceable to the competence or indolence of individual legal counselors. Hence, discussion of the problems of legal services for units of the socialized economy cannot be confined to polemics about particular instances or to the questioning of the supposed intentions of M. Krupa.

The pertinent legal decree on legal counselors does not -- despite even the best intentions of the representatives of their self-government -- assure organizing a system of legal services that would provide safeguards that the instances cited in the studies of the Procurature and the NIK would be purely exceptional. Unless it is revised accordingly, these instances would remain chronic.

Generally speaking, a system of responsibility for the legal performance of the units of the socialized economy served by legal counselors has not been created. It can also be stated that responsibility of counselors for the opinions they issue on particular matters is illusory. The fact that fairly often four enterprises band together to hire one legal counselor who, at the same time, is legally expected to provide to them only two-fifths of his effective working time, produces in many organizations the illusion that adequate legal service is received and encourages them to hire several different counselors working for them on part-time basis instead of one fulltime counselor.

This points to the need to consider institutional changes rather state that an enterprise director sees no need to employ a counselor. In this highly important matter we cannot rely solely on the commitment and goodwill of the individual.

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POLAND

PUBLISHED TEXTS OF RECENT LEGISLATION SUMMARIZED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 6

[Unattributed article: "New Issues of the Legislative Monitor"]

[Text] Further issues of DZIENNIK USTAW have been published.

No 25 of 5 June published the following ordinances of:

-- The Council of Ministers, concerning: the assets of the former trade unions; the principles for setting up plant bonus systems by enterprises of the communal and housing economy; the scope, principles and procedure for awarding and withholding sports stipends and their amounts;

-- The Minister of Finance, concerning the payment of turnover and income taxes by craftsmen for services performed through the mediation of craft cooperatives.

Also: the announcement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers on rectifying an error contained in the decree of 10 May 1985 on special penal responsibility.

No 26, of 8 June, contains the text of the decree on Regulations Concerning the Elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

No 27, of 14 June, contains two resolutions of the Council of State:

-- On ordering elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic;

-- Concerning the number of deputies to be elected from the national slate of candidates.

In addition, the following ordinances were published in that issue:

-- The Council of Ministers, concerning: the remuneration of academic teachers and employees of the research institutes and scientific centers of the Polish Academy of Sciences employed in other organizational units; exemptions from deductions to the PFAZ [State Plant Activation Fund] with respect to payroll increases due to the growth in employment of blue-collar workers at certain shipyards in the years 1985 and 1986;

-- The Minister of Justice, concerning the establishment of province and regional courts and the determination of their seats and scope of competences.

POLAND

INTERVIEW WITH SEJM MEMBER ZDZISLAW MALICKI

Krosno NOWINY in Polish 11 Jun 85 p 3

Interview with the PRL Sejm Deputy and well-known economic activist Zdzislaw Malicki by Halina Lokajowa: "Dissatisfaction Always Persists" under the rubric "Reflections of a Deputy"]

[Text] [Question] This is not your first term of office in the Sejm. What is it like in comparison?

[Answer] The now ending session has been highly active, innovative, extremely controversial and difficult. There was a time in 1980-1981 when there was an almost universal collapse of all authority in the country. It was then even more difficult to act as a deputy.

[Question] And more stressful?

[Answer] There is no shortage of stressful situations every day, particularly when effects are not yet visible (and it is difficult for them to occur immediately and one's short on patience. One can relax, so to speak, by escaping from universal matters to trivia. But that is merely a surrogate. Yes, I feel the burden of responsibility. I believe that anything at which we failed is an onus equally borne by the government and the deputies. After all, it is we who are thoroughly and fully conversant with all issues and it is difficult for us to transfer the blame.

I advocate fostering the awareness that wishes alone are not enough. No one expects advice from us; it is cheap. On the other hand, persistence in striving for a goal is necessary. If one considers a goal to be just, he should champion it and gain understanding for it. In a word, it is not enough to give one's rationale; it also is necessary to create a suitable climate and determine whether the goal we commit ourselves to is timely and realistic. When a goal is pursued persistently and patiently, the payoff in the form of decisions and solutions can be expected.

[Question] Shouldn't such a considerable mental and physical stress be offset in some way? Stress must be balanced by satisfaction....

[Answer] A deputy's work exercises great fascination to me, but I'm far from feeling content. I believe that this work never affords complete satisfaction. Some dissatisfaction always remains. One is bothered by the feeling that the

effects produced could have been greater in some other way or if more persistence were to be shown. To me accomplishments as such don't exist. Once a matter is settled, it is immediately replaced by another of interest today or tomorrow.

[Question] But you can't consider it unimportant whether your proposal has been accepted as optimal by the entire parliament. Have such instances happened?

[Answer] I have offered a number of proposals which found their solution in Sejm resolutions. It is difficult though to take credit for them personally. It is simply that the discussion tended in that direction. I proposed, e.g., that foreign trade centers be converted to company status. This is now a fact, but it was not our idea.

[Question] You are among the most active deputies.

[Answer] Being a pensioner, I have more time and considerable experience which facilitates my public work. It's true that I have been very active during both my terms of office. I have constantly drafted and delivered speeches. I participated in devising plans and evaluating institutional and qualitative changes. I took part in considering all the principal issues relating to the economy, issues of great significance to it.

[Question] On the basis of your experience as a longtime manager of a huge enterprise, the Stalowa Wola Iron and Steel Plant.

[Answer] It proved to be highly useful. In addition, considering that I'm now in my second term as deputy, my knowledge has grown and I am conversant with examples concerning all the principal issues in this country. I keep track consistently of all articles in the professional press, collect that material and utilize it in my Sejm work. For example, when preparing the discussion of the anti-inflationary program we divided tasks among ourselves: one deputy collected press opinions, another the opinions of organizations, etc. A thorough processing of all that material and the acquisition of substantial information by a deputy make great demands on his time. Then in addition there are the conferences and commission sessions; at present Sejm work takes up at least one-half of our time each month.

[Question] The participation itself is fatiguing.

[Answer] Not all can be equally active; otherwise, we would never leave the [Sejm] building on Wiejska Street at all. But many deputies work very actively. the scope of the information on activities of the Sejm provided by the press, radio and television is now, besides, much broader than it has ever been in the past.

[Question] But we don't receive all information.

[Answer] The real struggle, the debates about details, the final shape of the decrees take place in the commissions. It is there that everything is said, the most agitating topics are raised and the most drastic formulations

offered. The deputies have no fears or scruples. But it is difficult to make all this public, because that would put a damper on the proceedings, the more so considering that the proposals are debatable.

Following these debates in the commissions, the plenary deliberations are a formality as it were. The deputies have, contrary to the public misconception, much to say. It happens that they thoroughly revise decrees. In undertaking to opine on, e.g., particular development programs for discrete subsectors, they not only have to be aware of public feeling but also familiarize themselves thoroughly with the subject.

[Question] How do they obtain genuine first-hand information?

[Answer] Let me give an example. At the Commission for Foreign Economic Cooperation and the Maritime Economy we once considered the subject of fisheries. We received from the Office of the Maritime Economy reports submitted by fish processing centers and fishery enterprises. The most important problems and development prospects of this subsector were presented. A group of deputies toured fish processing centers and fisheries from Gizyck to Szczecin. On the basis of subsequent discussion a deputy drafted a collective report containing comments by the touring deputies. Thus the commission obtained the information needed to judge realistically the activities, problems and needs of the subsector and was able to make what undoubtedly are proper recommendations to the prime minister as well as to take a position on the subsector's development. In sum, gathering that material took 2 months. Every topic to be considered by the deputies was investigated in such depth! What do we get from this? The chance that the issues considered shall find an optimal solution within a given period of time.

[Question] In what commissions do you work?

[Answer] At present I've confined myself to just one, the Foreign Trade Commission. I used to be a member of the commissions on: Metallurgy and Machine Industry, Plan and Budget, and Science and Technological Progress. At the same time I'm active as Chairman of Team III (for Enterprises) at the Commission for the Economic Reform.

[Question] In the public view the reform has not been very effective.

[Answer] I belong in the group of those who believe that if we abandon the stick it will be difficult to accomplish anything. In a word, poor performance must be punished. That is, one should begin with penalties rather than rewards. Nowadays a reward of 1,000 zlotys produces no effect. Incentives work if they are high, but that would mean adding to the inflationary spiral. By contrast, even the smallest threat produces a totally different reaction. The reaction to a fine of 1,000 zlotys would be incomparably greater than to a reward of 1,000 zlotys. And yet, we made a virtue of the lack of penalties. A collective awareness of the need for negative sanctions for poor performance must be created. Accepting products of poor quality should mean going to jail. This is a greatly oversimplified example, but that's the point of it. Yet for

now we are still considering what to do about the personnel of a poorly performing plant, while they point the finger of blame at the supplier plant.

[Question] But some allowance should be made for present-day problems that are no fault of those doing production work.

[Answer] In ninety percent of cases of products questioned as being of poor quality the fault is that of the administration and not the workers, owing to poor decisions. Recently I held a Team III meeting with plant directors. I tried to brief them about new factors of fundamental importance to management, including forecasting ability. As known, the stagnation of exports is a symptom of import restrictions. It is necessary to predict what to do in such a situation so as to prevent surprises. We pay plant directors to think. They should adapt themselves to the reigning conditions.

[Question] Are the plant directors very good?

[Answer] Average. The very good ones know how to predict their future (as heads of enterprises) for 5 or 10 years ahead. Within Team III we attempted to promote the principle of contractual directors who can select their own managerial teams. But these matters are still too revolutionary....

[Question] Let us then continue the principal topic. Meetings: voters complain that they rarely have a chance to see the deputies representing them.

[Answer] On the one hand our time is too limited and on the other, the deputies are discouraged because the meetings organized by the province clubs of Sejm deputies (WZP) do not enjoy great popularity. Let's say it candidly: the public does not avail itself of the opportunities for meeting a deputy. Only those attend who have to. Community meetings attended by genuinely concerned voters are incomparably better and more lively. And they are much more useful as well.

[Question] You are the chairman of the Tarnobrzeg Province Club of Sejm Deputies. What's its contribution to the work of the Sejm, and has it succeeded in doing anything for the local community?

[Answer] For most issues it is hard to ascribe credit to the province club of deputies. What is important is to assure certain recommendations, postulates, proposals. This is of tremendous importance to the shape of the final decisions. But it's difficult in the Sejm to champion local issues; the forum for them is the province people's councils. On that forum we have worked on health service, investments, problems of housing construction, transport, communications and environmental protection. We are in daily cooperation with local authorities and organizations. There is no dearth of initiatives, but the implementation of goals is more important.

Each of us (there are seven members of Team III, of whom two are not residents of the province) personally intervenes in various knotty human problems on the basis of his own judgment. Letters are written and one visits the minister concerned. Only once I didn't let myself get entangled in a suit about a meadow. There also are, unfortunately, some interventions into poorly resolved

cases which are difficult to untangle and rectify. Such cases wear the deputies out and cause considerable bitterness. But then is there any place in the world where everything is perfect?

[Question] What are you working on now?

[Answer] Problems of innovations and technological progress. It's said that our industry is rather resistant to innovations and technological progress. In other countries efficiency is achieved through extreme specialization. We lack specialized creators of the building blocks composing machinery and facilities. This probably is the root cause of low efficiency. This matter has to be precisely defined, and subsequently it is necessary to tackle altering the structure of industry in order to improve the utilization for the country's good of the engineers who nowadays feel embittered.

Thematic teams are continuing discussion of the 5-year plan. Many important issues have to be resolved in order that the plan meet the society's expectations.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

INTERVIEW WITH SEJM MEMBER BOLESŁAW HUNDT

Krakow TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview with Bolesław Hundt by Jerzy Przyłucki: "A Particularly Obligating Choice" under the rubric "The Experience, Reflections and Conclusions of Deputies from Opole"]

[Text] [Question] You are yet another Sejm deputy to work on legal problems instead of participating in the work of the Agricultural Commission, despite being a farmer.

[Answer] Things don't get done by themselves. Can you imagine the language of a decree written by legal experts alone in my Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and Administration of Justice? For a long time now voters have been demanding that Sejm bills be couched in language comprehensible to even the ordinary citizen. But the most important thing about any decree is its purpose.

[Question] I can't say that the commission on which you work is liked by all.

[Answer] Not all legal acts have to be popular. Adopting a stricter approach to manifestations of social pathology -- I mean crime and transgressions -- meets with suspicions. I admit that the sensitive boundary line between sanctioning indispensable repressive measures and encroaching upon personal and civic freedoms may in some cases be fluid, particularly when the intentions of the lawgivers are implemented in a distorted way.

[Question] What should be done then?

[Answer] The implementation should be followed up, conclusions drawn and revisions introduced. In a word, monitoring is needed to protect against pitfalls.

[Question] Have such pitfalls occurred, in your opinion?

[Answer] Well, has there ever been any decree that was implemented smoothly without giving birth to the grotesque expression "after the 13th hour"?

[Question] Your mom complained to me that you are heedless of your health, that you smoke too much and are too much in love with your bachelor status.

[Answer] I smoke because I'm too nervous. But as for alcohol, I drink moderately, and I'm allergic to coffee. Of course, I've reached the ripe old age of 33 and am an independent farmer, but to my mom I'm still an unmarried man. What is there to say: as a daughter of Antoni Pawleta (the owner of the prewar newspaper NOWINY and subsequently of KATOLIK), she has had many bad experiences in her life.

[Question] But neither your parents nor Province Governor Zydek who has expressed such great worry about you at the "Talk of Allies," will pick a bride for you.

[Answer] God forbid, I'll make the choice myself. I share the governor's concern about "production," because to a farmer a wife is indeed a serious problem. She is a partner in life for better and worse and an equal head of household as well. All signs in heaven and on earth indicate that my problems as a benedict will soon end.

[Question] And your habits too?

[Answer] The girl is tolerant.

[Question] Like any other girl prior to the wedding. Haven't you heard that?

[Answer] Aha, do add that I shall notify the province governor when the time for the baptism comes, to give him full satisfaction.

[Question] I understand that this accounts for your firm support in the Sejm for the constitutional amendment affirming the perpetuity of private ownership of farms.

[Answer] That also is true. But speaking seriously, this is the first time that private farmers have received from the authorities such an important guarantee of the future. After all, rural folk still remember well the notorious "dekulakization" drive and "voluntary" enrollment of peasants in producer cooperatives.

[Question] But the amendment has also had its opponents, who argued that it would halt progress in agriculture.

[Answer] This could be thought only by those who failed to draw appropriate conclusions from the history of the struggle of the Polish peasant for land, and who moreover are unfamiliar with his mentality. The reality demolishes their apprehensions. In agriculture, owing to the Amendment as well, the economic reform operates most fully. The peasant feels more secure on his own land, and hence, more and more often, young people prefer to remain on land instead of migrating to the cities.

[Question] Are you referring to stability?

[Answer] Let me put it this way: even a cow gives less milk if it is milked by several dairy maids instead of one. In farming, agricultural policies cannot

be changed once every couple of years, because otherwise the effect is obvious: rationing and embarrassment.

[Question] What is the conclusion?

[Answer] The yardstick for any sector of agriculture should be output. Then "good" and "bad" producers will be discerned. Our aim is to achieve autarchy in food production.

[Question] You now sound more like a politician than a farmer.

[Answer] I see here no contradictions between the policy of my party, the ZSL [United Peasant Party], and private interests.

[Question] Suppose a contradiction were to exist?

[Answer] I'm a loyal member of the ZSL.

[Question] Doesn't that loyalty to one's own party and "right lines" account for the "idyllic" forest of upraised hands in the Sejm? As you are aware, our past experience in this respect has been bad.

[Answer] This total harmony is an invention of our television and its selective programs. It is bad advertising for the work of the Sejm. I'm amazed that, despite the large number of able people working in propaganda, the public is provided with such a visual pabulum. As for the press, I'll be diplomatic enough not to discuss it at all.

[Question] You can't at least accuse us of publishing too few speeches by the deputies.

[Answer] On the contrary, but you do it in an indigestible manner. Few people read them, and they are the deputy concerned and his nearest family. To return to that "total harmony." I wish someone were to report on the birth of a decree whose draft is controversial. Then the public would realize that the deputies rarely are a mutual admiration society.

[Question] This I can't believe. Please give me an example.

[Answer] For probably the third time the Government's proposal for updating the decree on the housing law has been rejected. I personally was opposed to the decree on the agricultural tax, which makes little differentiation among taxpayers. I could recall a couple of other examples, but then I'm a deputy only since January 1983.

[Question] That is indeed only one-half of a term of office as lengthy and work-filled as yours.

[Answer] The awareness that I was elected as a replacement for the deceased prominent Pole and Opole man Ryszard Hajduk places me under an obligation. I'm always at the disposal of the Sejm, even when I totter from exhaustion. Quite

often I leave Chrzastowice at 0400 hours to attend a one-day session of my commission in Warsaw and return at 2300 hours.

[Question] But when the Sejm deliberates for several days you can rest in one of the apartments provided for the deputies.

[Answer] On some days the commission works for a dozen or so hours. What this means to me, a farmer accustomed to the rake and manure, I'll not explain. When I get tired, I think of the Chrzastowice fields and forests, of returning to them. You mentioned apartments? If you call an apartment a room for six people with one sink, a small table and four chairs, that is not my fault....

[Question] Your work in the Sejm is one side of the coin, the other being contacts with voters.

[Answer] It's the chance encounters, on the road, "at the fence," near a store, in a queue for coal, at village festivals, and even in front of the church, that are the most valuable. They are authentic, and the words exchanged are not "parliamentary" but sometimes "pithy" too. It happens that, "for the cause," I have to drink beer, which I don't like. In the countryside no one can be ignored. The rural people there are ambitious, diligent and know their worth. To my older neighbors, who also are my voters, I'm "Boles" [a diminutive of Boleslaw] first and a deputy second. Like most peasant politicians, I can't endure "officialki," that is, meetings and conferences at which, as the young put it, "torpid speeches" are made.

[Question] You'll also tell me that in your leisure moments you read Sejm materials, but I won't believe it.

[Answer] Of course, I read them!

[Question] And in bed?

[Answer] Now you're being nosy. Am I supposed to name the titles?

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

1386

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POLAND

EDITORIAL PLANS FOR NEW CULTURAL WEEKLY

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 1, 5 Jun 85 p 1

[Roundtable Discussion: "What Sort of Publication Is It?"]

[Text] [Klemens Krzyzagorski]: Following several weeks of debate, the title I proposed was put to a democratic vote. The title will be the one favored by the majority--KULTURA. This title reminds me of something but never mind the reminiscences; let us try to talk about the future. What sort of publication will it be? It will be literary, certainly. It will express the political thinking of the Polish Left. It will be concerned with the broad structure of culture. It will aid the generational change in artistic communities. We already have told ourselves this several times, but what do such program ideas really mean?

[Jerzy Adamski]: A Leftist periodical. That means (O paradox!) that it harks back to the old tradition, the tradition of bonds between the intelligentsia and the working class. These bonds were the human and social ideal held in common: labor as the basis of worth, social justice, the organization of joint efforts, the spread of culture as human achievement and the promotion of talent.

A Leftist periodical. That means a periodical committed to the struggle over world view: against traditionalism and conservatism, against backwardness and parochialism and against clericalism and lower middle class egoism.

A Leftist periodical. That means one that propagates the program of the Polish communists and proposes the elimination of disproportions in participation in and access to cultural values, ideological content in art, a universal system of national education and a socialist attitude to the world and to mankind.

A Leftist periodical. That means one that practices cultural criticism, criticism of works of art, technology and science, criticism of the way of life and the systems of organization of work and action. But it is criticism from the viewpoint of socialism, outfitted with the criteria characteristic of this point of view.

[Jerzy Bajdor]: I think that the geography of our periodicals is very one-sided, despite their abundance. There is an essential lack of a weekly that would discuss the facts and problems of artistic life in an ongoing and

systematic way, using a wide variety of forms, from essays to notes. At the same time, it would aim towards departing from the Warsaw-centered stereotypes that still tempt us and would take into consideration the cultural experiences of the entire country, as richly as possible. In my opinion, this expanded view is a matter of special importance. I believe that KULTURA should play this role.

In many fields of art, a period of generational change of guard is now taking place. The ever more important presence of the younger generation in Polish literature, theatre and film is a quite apparent phenomenon today, one that requires more careful analysis.

Obviously, it is not a question of creating new names or new artistic facts for their own sake, of inventing artificial or sham authorities. But there is no questioning the idea that now, more than ever before, the greater participation of artistic criticism in molding the face of our contemporary art is becoming indispensable. I am speaking of artistic criticism that is sensitive to social values and that reacts to incipient artistic phenomena and trends.

Thus I believe that there is an urgent need for the creation of a periodical whose orientation is ideologically clear, but at the same time genuinely open, a periodical that gradually would rally around itself all of the valuable forces of the Left, broadly conceived, at work in every artistic community.

[Roman Bratny]: Recently I confessed that I would like to write a book called "The Third Hope." Then, correctly myself, I changed it to "The Fourth Hope." I had in mind the eternal return of Polish crises and the hopes, often vain, associated with them. The word "hope" itself is optimistic-- but a fourth one? How many can there be?

This is not the first time that I have been in assistance at the birth of a periodical (even one named KULTURA). I would like it to be an expression of hope. Stubborn, aware of the possibility of defeat, but enjoining activism and boldness in the presentation of one's convictions, while preserving the always conscious awareness of the divided nature of what is right. It is the knowledge that, in our conflict-ridden society, no one has a monopoly on what is right, a "prescription for Poland." We are convinced about certain matters and we do not think to hide these convictions. But it is our job to convince others. Without a certain distance, without a hint of doubt, which is the mother of tolerance, we will not convince them. If we hold seances on obvious truths, we will not accomplish anything. The platitude is the parasite of truth. It is not a lie, but by feeding off truth it destroys it.

The publication I have in mind is one that allows broad critical thinking but that also grapples daily with Poland's pride in its own historical stupidity, with the attitudinizing of entire communities and people that wear the look of martyrs while carrying out big business deals.

I would like to assist in the birth of a periodical that could conduct continual "dialogues of disunited brothers" in which it would be possible

to quarrel publicly, expressing publicly these conflicting causes and seeking jointly a higher cause.

Can such a periodical be "crafted"? We shall see.

[Maciej Chrzanowski]: One often hears of the need to publish periodicals that are as cohesive as possible and that are homogeneous with regard to values expressed and priorities employed. I would like KULTURA to be such a weekly. I would like its journalism, its artistic criticism and its presentations of art and literature to be mutually complementary, to represent a kind of whole. I would like the reports we print to show the reality that engendered this and not another kind of art.

This requires being selective regarding the phenomena of contemporary culture. We should give information regarding its many manifestations and we should show its diversity and the birth of new trends, but we also should promote and launch those phenomena with which we identify most nearly, those phenomena that are an outgrowth of the thinking of the social Left, that help us to understand the world around us and that answer the important questions of being carried by reality [as published]. As a rule, courage and an uncompromising attitude characterize the artists of younger generations. KULTURA should give them more attention. I also am certain that vital cultural events are taking place throughout the country. These must be recorded without indulgence of the so-called provinces but also without giving them any sort of reduced rate. A journalistic analysis of cultural policy should contain an answer to the question of what is happening with the general assumptions of this policy, primarily in cities outside the capital.

[Zbigniew Safjan]: I have in mind a periodical whose lack we feel keenly, that is, a periodical needed by the readers and by us that make up its team, us--the writers. These two categories are not separated by a dividing line. I think that it should be a periodical that will develop and revise its program in close conjunction with the readers. This is not only empty prattle. KULTURA should develop a community of writers and readers that seek answers to the same and similar questions. If we present ourselves as a periodical of the social Left, this does not mean that the questions already have been answered in advance, that there cannot be various answers or that variations in world view have no place in the concept "Left." Then let it be also, and perhaps even primarily, a periodical that is seeking.

As is known, there are very many questions today that must be answered. They are difficult questions that sometimes lead to painful and bitter debate. They concern history and the present, the status of men of culture and the changes that have taken place in recent years. They concern the future and the shape of the future as we foresee it, which ought to be a subject of discussion today.

I think that in these quests we cannot omit attempts to answer questions regarding the structure of the Polish Left, its program (not only in the cultural sphere) and the implementation of this program. What was the makeup of cultural policy in the initial period of People's Poland? What mistakes and setbacks, that today must be avoided, had an especially negative impact on

the development of many fields of the arts and on the perceptions of cultural values? Why did the social Left not take full advantage of the tremendous opportunities created by the mass support of society that took place after 1956 and 1970? How should state patronage operate under present conditions? What is the real status of cultural activists and the creators of culture in Poland? How do we assess them accurately today? Over the past few years, has there been a "backward step in thinking" and what is the answer of the social Left to this problem?

There are many more questions, with no unequivocal answer. We also must assume that these questions will be answered in various ways. The publication should aim to print the various answers. Only in this way does a program arise.

[Andrzej Wasilewski]: Opinionmaking in the fields of scholarship and culture is corrupted today by the plague of opportunism. There are opportunists in relation to the government that are masters in the recurrent tendency to paint glossy pictures of the slice of life under their view. This alliance of glossy portrait painters, that includes the participation of a certain number of volunteers, connives, for example, with the figure jugglers in the book economy to attempt to magnify their contributions, improving occasionally on reality. I hope that wherever such opportunism occurs, the periodical will exhibit sufficient strength of spirit to oppose its palliative attempts. However, amid the currents of the opportunistic words that fill our heads daily, opportunism of the official type is less offensive and less influential today. Antisocialist opportunism is the real plague upon today's opinion-making. Any dealer in shoddy goods that wishes to be seen pins an antisocialist label on himself and immediately cuts a glorious figure. A worn out master that has been abandoned by his muse dons the public prosecutor's toga and again enjoys a master's glory. Broadcasts whose only skill is in the groveling word award titles of moralist and professor. Arguments in the form of greenbacks elicit profound spiritual crises among artists and scholars.

Many times before in Poland, the alarm sounded because of the frustration of real measures of value, but now, when the depravation in this field has reached unprecedented proportions, when the idolatrous cult of some nonentity is unleashed more and more as he is acclaimed a spiritual-intellectual power, opinionmaking centers either opportunistically remain silent or enter into the rushing stream of happily growing idolatry. I hope that the publication will be able to rally around itself people that are alarmed at the growth of this mendacity, those that have the courage to go against the current of opportunism.

[Edmund Zurek]: I have designated one room in my cooperative housing apartment to be a private library. I do my best work there. When I am in this room, I feel as though I am in a safe tree hollow, surrounded by volumes that I have read over and over and browsed through, right at hand. My largest collection from the last quarter-century is in the literature of fact and reminiscences. I return to them readily, although with a growing weariness. I return to the ideas of others via many proposals, adopted or rejected by me, regarding sometime reforms that are now quite anachronistic, former emotions that have now subsided and often were trifling.

I read my yearbooks of KULTURA, ODRA, KONTRASTY, POLITYKA and ZYCIE LITERACKIE and wonder, with much perplexity, what we, the senior generation, have passed on to the new generation that is coming of age, what inheritance we have left them, what riches we have handed down to them and what liabilities they will take with them into the 21st century. How are we to preserve for the new generation the real world view of years recently past, years that are historic for them? How are we to note what is going on today (and is already passing away)?

I hope that KULTURA, through reporting and memoirs, will document our uneasy times. Let it be a documentation of struggle and work, the struggle with crime and opportunism, the struggle in defense of the weak, the wronged and those that await help in the name of social order and justice.

[Klemens Krzyzagorski]: The tradition has been fulfilled--we have here the introductory article. It is somewhat different from the sort usually published in the first issues of new periodicals, for it is polyphonic. I must add a plea here for patience. We really will go about implementing everything with diligence. But we need a little time for execution and self-revision. After a few months, we will bring up the question again: what sort of publication is it? But then it will be asked of the readers.

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CSO: 2600/832

POLAND

BRIEFS

CZYREK RECEIVES CSSR OFFICIAL--On 11 July, PZPR Politburo member Jozef Czyrek received Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the International Student Union, who is visiting Poland at the invitation of the Union of Polish Students. They discussed international preparations for the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

VISIT BY CSSR PLANNERS--Talks between delegations from the PPR and CSSR central planning bodies took place in Warsaw on 8 to 11 July. They were devoted to coordinating both countries' plans for 1986-90. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

POLISH-CZECHOSLOVAK COOPERATION--On 10 July Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda met with a CPCZ Central Committee delegation headed by Central Committee Secretary Milos Jakes in order to discuss economic cooperation, with special attention to scientific-technical progress. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

MEETING WITH CSSR MINISTERS--Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and energy, and Vlastimil Ehrenberg, CSSR minister of fuels and energy, met on 12 and 13 July to discuss the implementation of the decisions to date and to map out the lines of cooperation between their two ministries in the immediate future. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

MESSNER MEETS BCP'S ALEKSANDROV--Deputy Premier and PZPR Politburo member Zbigniew Messner met with Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers. They discussed matters connected with bilateral relations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

COSTA RICAN PARTY OFFICIAL VISITS--Humberto Vargas Carboneli, general secretary of the Vanguard People's Party of Costa Rica, visited Poland from 10 to 15 July at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee. He had talks with PZPR Politburo members Tadeusz Czechowicz and Jozef Czyrek, during which information on the activity of both parties was exchanged and a cooperation program between them agreed on. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 2 AU]

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SED DELEGATION VISIT--A delegation from the SED Central Committee Youth Department visited Polish summer camps in which Polish and GDR youth are staying. The delegation was invited to Poland by the PZPR Central Committee Youth Department. On 11 July, the delegation was received by Youth Affairs Minister Andrzej Ornat. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

OLSZOWSKI RECEIVES VIENNA MAYOR--On 4 July, Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and foreign minister, received Mayor of Vienna Helmut Zilk, and discussed with him the international situation, bilateral relations, and cooperation between Polish and Austrian cities. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 85 p 2 AU]

SED REGIONAL COMMITTEE IN WARSAW--On 5 July, Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, met in Warsaw with the delegation of the SED Regional Committee led by Reginald Grimmer, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission, and briefed it on the sociopolitical situation in Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Jul 85 p 8 AU]

POREBSKI RECEIVES BCP DELEGATION--On 3 July, T. Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received a delegation of the BCP Central Committee Cadre Policy Department to exchange experiences in party work and in the field of education, science, and the universities. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 85 p 2 AU]

KALKUS, MOKRZYSZCZAK AT MEETING--Stanislaw Kalkus, PZPR Politburo member, and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate member, attended a meeting of the Central Committee Internal Commission in Warsaw on 18 June. Members of the commission acquainted themselves with party activity in the construction industry. Progress in the work of party organizations in this field was noted. Attention was also focused on the problems peculiar to party activity in the construction industry, the scope for increasing party membership and party activities, and the training of workers and specialists for the industry. It was stressed at the meeting that improvements in party work in this area must be viewed within its political and economic context: housing needs, investment processes, and the waste of materials. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

KUBIAK AT KRAKOW PLENUM--PZPR Politburo member Hieronim Kubiak took part in the 25 June plenum of the Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee, which examined ways of finding the best deputies for the Sejm and how to make society more active in discussing affairs of state. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

ORZECZOWSKI AT PAN SESSION--PZPR Politburo candidate member Marian Orzechowski attended a 25 June scientific session at the Polish Academy of Sciences on the subject of the 40th anniversary of Poland's return to the northern and western territories. He spoke of the significance of the Odra-Nysa border in the shaping of postwar relations in Europe, and stated that never in its 1,000-year history had Poland renounced its title to these lands. He continued:

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The idea of Poland's rebirth within borders extending to the Baltic and Odra River was a component part of Polish political thought, which triumphed after the collapse of fascism and following the Potsdam conference where, after strong diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union, Poland finally found its place within secure and just borders. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

POREBSKI MEETS PARTY LECTURERS--PZPR Politburo member Tadeusz Porebski attended a 25 June meeting of Central Committee lecturers, which examined the state of the party and problems with raising the effectiveness of its political and organizational activity. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2 AU]

MICHALEK AT WROCLAW PLENUM--PZPR Central Committee secretary Zbigniew Michalek attended the 10 July joint plenum of the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR and ZSL Committees, which examined agricultural problems, especially those involved in intensifying grain production. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 85 p 5 AU]

SZALAJDA RECEIVES FOREIGN AMBASSADORS--Economic cooperation between Poland and the USSR, with particular reference to scientific-technical problems, was the subject of 9 July talks between Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda and Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Aksionov. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 85 p 7 AU] Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received FRG Ambassador Franz Pfeffer. They discussed possibilities of further developing economic cooperation and the creation of suitable conditions for it. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 85 p 7 AU]

POLISH MONUMENT DESECRATION PROTESTED--In connection with the desecration of the monument to Polish ex-combatants in Warsaw Square, Paris, in June this year, the Polish ambassador to France, Janusz Stefanowicz, handed the French minister for veterans' affairs, Jean Laurain, a document in which Poland protests this unprecedented act. In the document, the profound sadness and indignation of Polish veterans are expressed in connection with this act. It states that the desecration of the monument strikes at the common struggle of both nations for freedom and independence. Minister Laurain expressed regret over the event, assuring Stefanowicz that the competent authorities will speedily take measures aimed at restoring the monument's original state. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Jul 85 LD]

GORBACHEV MEETING REPORTED--A meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and members of the bureau and heads of departments of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee has been devoted to an examination of the issues connected with implementing the economic-political tasks in the preparatory period leading up to the 27th CPSU Congress. Mikhail Gorbachev said among other things that the essence of the undertakings and of the organizational, political, economic, and personnel changes being implemented at present is based above all in speeding up finding solutions to the most important problems pertaining to the country's economic and social development. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 11 Jul 85 LD]

CSO: 2600/970

ROMANIA

AGERPRES ON USSR DECISION TO HALT NUCLEAR TESTS

AU301937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 30 Jul 85

["Declaration of the Romanian News Agency--AGERPRES--on the Soviet Union's Decision To Unilaterally Halt Any Nuclear Tests" -AGERPRESS headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Jul (AGERPRES)--The Romanian news agency AGERPRES is empowered to declare the following:

Public opinion in Romania has learned with keen interest about [word indistinct] hails the declaration of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, regarding the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally stop any nuclear tests, starting on 6 August and the fact that the moratorium proclaimed in this respect, until 1 January 1986, will be kept in force after that date as well, should the United States do the same.

Romania believes that this new Soviet initiative regarding a moratorium on nuclear tests is of utmost importance for the success of the Geneva talks and for halting nuclear arming.

We would welcome the United States' reciprocating this initiative and taking similar measures to prove their wish, repeatedly expressed by the leaders of that country, to pass on to disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost. The endorsement by both sides of a moratorium on nuclear tests would enhance people's hopes in the success of the talks on nuclear and space weapons, and would give a fine example for other states which possess nuclear arms, to pass on to similar measures.

As President Nicolae Ceausescu, party general secretary, has repeatedly stressed, Romania has resolutely been for a halt to the location of new nuclear arms in Europe during the Geneva talks--and thinks that efforts should be further made in this sense, as well as for an end to any nuclear tests. Suchlike measures would pave the way for negotiations, would prove both sides' wish to reach positive results as far as disarmament, nuclear disarmament above all, is concerned.

Romania holds the view that everything possible should be done--before its too late--through bold actions and initiatives to put an end to the arms race, to change the current cause of the international [word indistinct] towards detente, disarmament, collaboration and peace.

ROMANIA

LUMEA ON GORBACHEV CALL TO HALT NUCLEAR TESTS

AU021549 Bucharest LUMEA No 31 in Romanian 1 Aug 85 p 12

[Article by N. Patrascu: "A Decision That Merits a Constructive Response"]

[Text] Now that the international situation is particularly serious and that the arms race and the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe are increasing the danger of a new world war that would inevitably turn into a thermo-nuclear conflict, the production and testing of new types of weapons with an increasingly greater capacity and the projects on the militarization of outer space are increasing the concerns of peoples everywhere even more.

Under these circumstances, any initiative or measure that would bring the slightest progress on the road of halting the arms race and of lessening international tension is of particular significance. Therefore, public opinion in our country, as well as broad circles of world public opinion have received with great interest the declaration made by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in connection with the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally stop any nuclear testing beginning 6 August. At the same time, the declaration calls on the United States to stop nuclear tests in turn. It is specified that the Soviet Union's moratorium is proclaimed up to 1 January 1986 but that it will remain in force after the date if the United States refrains from nuclear tests.

Certainly, such a decision represents a positive step, is in keeping with the great desire of all peoples to halt the arms race, and constitutes an expression of the spirit of good will and trust that should characterize efforts aimed at achieving appropriate understandings that would stop the arms competition and the production and testing of nuclear weapons, at gradually reducing all nuclear weapons up to their definitive elimination, and at freeing mankind from the nightmare of nuclear destruction.

The new Soviet initiative is an important contribution to ensuring the conditions that will bring about the total and general ban on all nuclear testing and the transition to disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament. For, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the recent plenum of the RCP Central Committee and central party aktiv: There is no more important problem than doing everything to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, from destruction, and to ensure the nation's and peoples' sacred right to existence, freedom, life and peace."

Romania—the declaration of the Romanian Press Agency AGERPRES stresses—believes that everything must be done, before it is too late, so that through bold actions and initiatives the arms race is stopped and the current trend of international life is channeled toward detente, disarmament, cooperation, and peace.

As is known, in the spring of the current year the Soviet Union decided to institute a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of its intermediate-range missiles and on suspending other countermeasures in Europe up to November 1985, the prolongation of that moratorium being determined by certain similar measures by the United States. Later the Soviet Union proposed that any nuclear weapons testing should cease for the duration of the Geneva negotiations. This proposal has been given concrete shape now in the new measure announced by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Such a decision finds a great response from public opinion in our country, all the more because Romania has repeatedly stressed the need for disarmament negotiations to be accompanied by measures for halting new nuclear weapons testing and deployment. As President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the negotiations should not be used as a screen behind which the arms race continues, thus diverting the attention of peoples from the increasing danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

In hailing the new initiative of the Soviet Union, Socialist Romania believes that it is necessary for the disarmament negotiations to be accompanied by measures for halting new nuclear weapons testing and deployment. To continue testing and producing new kinds of weapons while holding disarmament negotiations in various international organizations, means to deceive the hopes of peoples who more and more firmly demand a halt to the arms race.

Expressing their satisfaction with the Soviet Union's new initiative regarding unilaterally halting all nuclear tests, the Romanian people and peace-loving circles express the hope that these measures will be followed up by similar actions by the United States. The declaration of the Romanian News Agency AGERPRES stresses that we would hail a positive U.S. response to this initiative and the United States taking similar measures as proof of the desire that its leaders have repeatedly expressed to proceed to disarmament, including nuclear disarmament.

The cessation by the two great nuclear powers of any kind of nuclear testing would certainly exert a strongly positive influence on the world's political atmosphere, would improve Soviet-American relations, give an impetus to the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space weapons and to negotiations within other international forums on disarmament problems, and would ensure the creation of condition for the conclusion of a universal treaty on a general ban on all nuclear tests.

The Romanian people, as well as the other peoples in the world, therefore expect the United States to respond positively to the Soviet Union's initiative on halting all nuclear tests and to measures adopted earlier through the

institution of a moratorium on nuclear missiles. True to its policy of peace, security, and cooperation, Socialist Romania believes that the problem of halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament is a fundamental problem of our era and that no effort is too great to achieve this vital desideratum of humanity. Any measure in this direction must earn a positive response in keeping with the basic aspirations and interests of all nations to live in a world of peace and cooperation, without weapons and without wars.

CSO: 2020/188

ROMANIA

REPORT ON RABBI ROSEN'S VISITS, INTERVIEWS

Australia, Far East

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in English 1-15 Jun 85 pp 14, 18

[Text] In previous issues of our journal we published news about the visit the Chief Rabbi and Mrs Rosen undertook in reply to invitations received from the communities in Australia and the Far East.

We continue our report.

At a great meeting in Sydney in the evening of 21 April, His Eminence was welcomed by the chairman of the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies, Prof. Graham de Vahl Davis. The following speaker was the chairman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Mr Greville Janner, member of the House of Commons and chairman of the European Section of the World Jewish Congress.

His Eminence delivered a speech on Judaism in Eastern Europe.

The following day the Chief Rabbi visited Jewish establishments and synagogues in Sydney and took part in a reception offered by the Israeli Consulate in Sydney to celebrate Israel's Independence Day.

On 24 April the visitors arrived in Manila. The Jewish Community and Israeli Ambassador Uri Gordon welcomed them warmly.

His Eminence delivered a sermon at the synagogue in the capital city of the Philippines and Mr Toey, president of the community, paid tribute to the distinguished guest.

In Tokyo the Jewish Community gave an official dinner. Rabbi Michael Schudrich and President Blau delivered addresses. The Chief Rabbi's speech is published inside the journal.

At Bangkok, Mr Isaac Djemal, the community's president, offered a reception, and the Israeli ambassador and Mrs Itzhak Navon gave a lunch in honour of their guests.

The Chief Rabbi addressed the whole community gathered to listen to him at a reception organized by the Bangkok Community.

In Singapore, Mr Alec Menasseh, president of the community, and the Israeli ambassador and Mrs Ben Yaacov offered

a reception for the Romanian guests. Tribute was paid to the personality of the spiritual leader of Judaism in Romania, after which His Eminence spoke about "Judaism in Romania: Past and Present."

During his journey to Australia and the Far East, the Chief Rabbi was requested to give interviews to prominent newspapers and radio stations in the countries he visited.

The trip (repeated after ten years: in 1975 His Eminence and Mrs Rosen followed the same route on the same occasion — the days of the Holocaust and of Israel's Independence — at the invitation of the same organizations) left a deep impression in the communities concerned, who expressed their veneration and love for the spiritual shepherd of Judaism in Romania.

On Friday 24 May 1985, His Eminence the Chief Rabbi returned home, coming from Israel, the last stage of the journey he undertook to three continents in reply to invitations he had received.

In Israel, where he stayed only three days, His Eminence, alongside of the President of the State of Israel, Haim Herzog, and the president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Urbach, presided over the Session of the World Council for the Yiddish Language and Culture, which opened in Tel Aviv in the evening of 21 May last, under the chairmanship of Mr. Itzhak Korn.

His Eminence addressed the solemn opening session. Other speakers, in addition to those mentioned above, were Shlomo Lahat, mayor of Tel Aviv, Akiva Lewinski, representative of the Jewish Agency, and M. Tzanin, chairman of the Association of Israeli Journalists and Writers.

Excerpts from His Eminence's speech are published in this journal.

At the Bucharest-Otopeni Airport, His Eminence was welcomed by leaders of the Federation of Jewish Communities.

The press and radio stations in Australia and various Asian and European countries which His Eminence the Chief Rabbi toured on his recent journey asked him for interviews and statements. Below we publish excerpts from the interviews he gave to the widely read Australian paper *The Age* and to the important Alsatian paper *Dernières nouvelles d'Alsace* of Strasbourg, France.

Chief Rabbi's Role Discussed

[Interview with Dr. Moses Rosen, chief rabbi of Romania, by Jane Sullivan; reprinted from Melbourne, Australia, *THE AGE* of 19 April 1985]

[Text] Dr. Moses Rosen jabs a finger at his right temple. "Night of pogrom in Bucharest, 21 January," he says. "Two times in one night, with a gun here. Each time a miracle. I escaped." Dr. Rosen, 72, is Chief Rabbi of Romania, and at first sight he does not look like a man who has kept just one step ahead of death, who has walked a delicate political tightrope for the past 36 years.

He is short, portly, white-bearded: almost a jovial patriarch. As he talks he uses large gestures to amplify his English or fill in for the few occasions when he cannot find the right word. But there is a darkness round his eyes and a dignity and force about his speech that begin to hint at what he has done.

His achievement could be compared to that of the Biblical Moses, though no doubt he would disapprove of the comparison. Since he was appointed Chief Rabbi in 1948, he has been letting his people go on a grand scale: 380,000 Jews — about 96 per cent of the postwar Romanian Jewish community — have emigrated to Israel. Romania is the only Communist country which has allowed any Jews who so wished to make such a journey, while also providing full religious and cultural autonomy to the community which remains. And much credit for this unique state of affairs can go to Dr. Rosen.

He is in Melbourne at the invitation of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs to speak at the Warsaw Ghetto anniversary convention. His main theme is that we should not forget the holocaust or its lessons, otherwise we may be plunged into an even more terrible holocaust which will destroy not only Jews but all mankind.

"Such is this world: a jungle," he sighs. "We Jews have learnt there is only one solution for our future: to have our own country. And even Israel cannot assure our future if the world remains such a wilderness."

The holocaust has left its mark on him: apart from the night with the pistol at his head there have been plenty of other 'bad times', as he calls them with extraordinary understatement. In the days when anti-Semitism was open and blatant, he was beaten and spat on. During Nazi rule of Romania he was deported to a concentration camp, where he says he escaped death "hundreds of times, you would not believe, they were miracles". Seventy members of his family were killed, including his brother Elias, who was Rabbi of Auschwitz.

Even after the war, his position as Chief Rabbi sometimes put him in great danger. "There was a climate of suspicion: I was accused of being a Zionist, which meant a traitor or a spy." Curiously enough, his hardest struggle was with an organisation of Communist Jews. "They went to the Government and said: we will convince the Jews not to go to Israel. They wanted to destroy everything."

So how did he win round the Government? "The secret of our success is that we look for what is the common interest," he says. "I have a seat in Parliament but my ideology is not theirs. I'm a believer in God, an idealist. But we are not making philosophy. We are being practical."

"We sat down and talked and step by step we were able to arrive at a change, a climate of mutual confidence."

"My duty," he says, "is to be the guardian of my people, to help them go to Israel and to help those who remain to have a decent life."

Eventually, will there be no Jews left in Romania? "This question has been put to me for 36 years and I hope to God it will be put for another 36 years. I'm a rabbi, not a prophet."

In such troubled times Dr. Rosen finds it a pleasure to come to a country like Australia, where Jewish emigrants found a refuge from Hitler and can now continue to live, as he puts it, "like a fish in water".

After his years of danger and persecution, the world has finally honored Dr. Rosen and accepted him as an ambassador for his people. He holds an honorary doctorate from Yeshiva University in New York, sits on the governing board of the World Jewish Congress and is on the executive committee of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. And his special enthusiasm for introducing Jewish youngsters to the music of their culture has produced some outstanding choirs.

He is concerned about recent international revivals of anti-Semitism and trends towards forgiving and forgetting the perpetrators of the holocaust, although he is also diplomatic about some famous figures caught up in the debate. President Reagan, he says, would never have agreed to visit a German war cemetery if he had had the right information. And as for the revelations concerning Princess Michael of Kent's father, who served as an SS stormtrooper: "Children can't pay for their parents, that's nonsense."

"In Romania in the last few years we too have had the shadow of anti-Semi-

tism. But at last the law was on our side, the President made a strong statement against anti-Semitism."

The Chief Rabbi feels that Nazi war criminals should be punished, and above all, their crimes should be documented for future generations when all holocaust survivors have died. And how long should we go on remembering? "I was asked that by a high Romanian person years ago. It was a hard conversation. I answered: a thousand years."

His own contribution to the future is his memoirs — or as he calls them in his slightly idiomatic English, his "memories". He is busy writing whenever he gets a chance: "There are too many people who leave writing their memories until they lose their memory."

Meanwhile, he says, the most important thing the Jewish community can do is pass on its ancient culture and philosophy of life to its children. "The Jews have been in danger many times throughout their history. To kill people is easy. But to kill an idea is not possible."

Situation in Romania, USSR

[Interview with Dr Moses Rosen, chief rabbi of Romania, by Daniel Riot; translation of original published in Strasbourg, France, DERNIERES NOUVELLES D'ALSACE of 18 May 1985]

[Text]

Likeable and hearty, astute and humorous. This is Great Rabbi Rosen. "I am a pious man. I suffered much in my life. Adversities steeled my optimism... I have the experience of camps and imprisonment... I had a gun pointed at my head twice... If God had not protected me, I would have been forgotten long ago... Ben Gurion used to say: 'Who studies the history of the Jewish people and does not believe in miracles is no realist.' This is true. I for one believe in miracles. To be a Jew means first of all to live, or rather to survive, with hope."

Hope has given strength to the Great Rabbi to carry his 72 years with dignity. May he live many more years! Before the Second World War there lived 800,000 Jews in Romania; 400,000 were killed*, and 380,000 emigrated to Israel. At present 26,000 Jews live under President Ceausescu. And they can fully live their Judaism. They have the right to travel abroad, which is an exception in the East-European countries. "We have 68

* E.n. A lot of them by Hungarian Fascists, accomplices of the Hitlerites.

communities. We have 102 synagogues. In 53 of them prayers are said daily. We have an intense community life: education and culture..." says Rabbi Rosen.

So the Romanian Jewry fares well. There is but one problem, or something of a problem: there are not enough rabbis. A vocation crisis? To some extent. "Politically however, there is no Jewish question in Romania." This is the Rabbi's great pride. A legitimate pride. Why? Here is the answer: "I am the last man you would ask this question. I am not naïve..."

Indeed, Moses Rosen has many merits. He managed to persuade the Romanian leadership that the Jews must live in the spirit of their religion and culture, notwithstanding the Communist system. He managed to make the Romanian leaders understand that a Jew is neither a traitor nor a spy if he want to leave for Israel. He managed to carry on a dialogue, with

courage and realism, and without losing his soul.

"De Gaulle said: 'There are no friends, there are no enemies, there are only interests.' As far as I am concerned, I have considered the interests of our community. The Romanian government have considered their interests. But we have come to a gentlemen's agreement. With clear-sightedness and in a pragmatic spirit. So the evidence is here: it has been proved that a Jew can go on living under a Communist regime and, conversely, that a Communist regime can accept full religious freedom for Jews."

What about the situation of Jews in other East-European countries? *"Each country has a specific situation,"* Great Rabbi Rosen says cautiously, being aware that the strategy of 'empirical dialogue' cannot succeed everywhere. Rabbi Rosen went to Moscow twice, in 1955 and in 1975. *"I failed there,"* says the Rabbi. But he is not sure that the strategy adopted by Israel and the West towards the Jewish question in the USSR is the best one.

"Judaism is jeopardized in the Soviet Union. Not the Jew as an individual. I am fighting for Israel. Yet I cannot but see that most of the Soviet Jews who come to Israel make only a stop there so that they be able to go somewhere else. Nowhere in the Torah, which I actually know very well, is it written

that the duty to return to Israel is only for the Soviet Jews. We did not organize a travel office so that a Jew can travel from one part of the earth to another. If a Jew wants to go to Israel, I feel concerned. If a Jew wants to go from Odessa to Philadelphia, I am not concerned. Ninety-six per cent of the Jews who left Romania settled in Israel. Ninety per cent of the Jews who leave the Soviet Union do not come to Israel. This is a fact that must be taken into account."

Serious yet smiling, Great Rabbi Rosen adds: *"Do you know this Jewish joke about Zionism? Zionism means a Jew who asks money from a second Jew so that a third Jew may leave for Israel."*

Great Rabbi Rosen's humour may not be to everybody's liking. On the other hand, the Great Rabbi does not agree with everything that is done in Israel. For example, he explodes whenever he hears that Israel regards herself as 'the West's bulwark in the East...' *"We are not policemen, shield bearers or lancers. Israel must keep the East and the West balanced. Because there are Jews everywhere, in both East and West."*

CSO: 2020/180

ROMANIA

REPORT ON IOC AWARD TO CEAUSESCU

Ceausescu Awarded

AU021854 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 2 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Aug (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu was awarded the 'Gold Olympic Order,' the highest Olympic distinction. The distinction was handed over to the Romanian head of state on 2 August in the Neptun seaside resort, by Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, who came to Romania to this end.

Addressing President Nicolae Ceausescu, Juan Antonio Samaranch pointed out that the unanimous decision of the members of the International Olympic Committee to confer on the Romanian head of state that distinction was an expression of great valuation of the invaluable support given by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu personally to the Olympic ideals, a recognition of his eminent merits to the cause of world sports. The guest praised the Romanian president's constant preoccupation for the development of the sports and Olympic movement in Romania.

Thanking for the distinction conferred, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the important role incumbent upon the Olympic sports movement in promoting international sports, the spirit of friendship and collaboration among sports people and first of all among the young people of various countries. The Olympic movement, sports generally, the Olympic Games especially, said Romania's President, have to retain their character of serving the rapprochement and friendship among peoples, irrespective of political, philosophic matters, of social system in one country or another.

New Olympic Games are now being prepared. Much talk is already going on about it. We hope that solutions acceptable to all states, to all peoples will be found, so that the coming Olympic Games further the fine traditions and act a positive part in overcoming certain contradictions, and be instrumental in rapprochement, friendship and peace, the Romanian President said.

Ceausescu Acceptance Speech

AU050928 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Aug 85 p 1

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu on accepting award conferred on him by IOC Chairman Juan Antonio Samaranch, in Neptun 2 August]

[Text] Mr Chairman of the International Olympic Committee: I take great pleasure in meeting you again in Romania, in extending cordial greetings, and also in expressing thanks to the IOC for its decision to award me this high Olympic sports order and thanks to you for handing it to me.

Indeed, the Olympic sports movement plays an important role in promoting international sports and the Olympic spirit of friendship and cooperation among sportsmen and primarily among youth from various countries who, in fact, make up the sportsmen at all Olympic Games almost completely.

Ever since they were set up, the Olympic Games have played, in various periods, an important role in the rapprochement and understanding among sportsmen, young people, and peoples.

We are now going through a time of particular tension in the international arena, a time when, unfortunately, sports too--and even Olympic Games--are being more and more questioned and when attempts are made to use them for certain political purposes. We believe that the Olympic movement, sports in general, and Olympic Games in particular, must continue to preserve their nature to serve rapprochement and friendship among peoples and that, regardless of problems of a political and philosophical nature, or social system in one country or another, sports must constitute an opportunity for free competition between the best so that the best will always win and especially so that sports may contribute to rapprochement and understanding among young people and peoples.

We believe that Olympic Games and sports in general will be able to preserve this nature and play an ever greater role in the direction of friendship and peace only if they always play their role and fulfill the mission they have.

I understand that sometimes the IOC faces the situation of making difficult decisions. By no means do I want to interfere in the affairs of the IOC, but being a participating country in this very important body we would like that its decisions should always bear in mind the Olympic spirit and serve friendship and peace among peoples.

We are preparing new Olympic Games. There have already been many discussions about this--and you are very well familiar with them. We hope that acceptable solutions will be found for all states and all peoples, so that the next Olympic Games will continue the positive traditions, that they will play a positive role in overcoming certain contradictions, and that they will serve rapprochement, friendship, and peace.

Once again I want to express thanks to you and to the IOC for the decision to award this high Olympic sports order on me. I view this as a great appreciation for the sports movement in Romania and you can rest assured that the Romanian sports people, the Romanian National Olympic Committee, and our whole people will always support sports activities and the activity by the IOC aimed at free sports that will serve friendship and peace.

I wish you and the IOC success. (loud applause)

CSO: 2020/188

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU SENT AWARD BY ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF GOYA

AU051554 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1504 GMT 5 Aug 85

[Text] Madrid, 5 Aug (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania was conferred the "Commemorative Medal," the special diploma and the title of "Honorary Member" of the Spanish Association of the Friends of Painter Francisco de Goya's Work--an important Spanish cultural forum, as part of actions whereby the great painter is paid homage internationally. The distinctions were accompanied by the commemorative volume of "tauramaquia," containing the noted Spanish painter's etchings, edited in a special layout.

Moreover, the management council and the mayor of the locality of Fuentetodos-Zaragoza, where the painter was born, awarded Nicolae Ceausescu the title of "Citizen of Honour" of that locality which has a strong reverberation in the Spanish and international [word indistinct] life.

During a festive meeting in Madrid, the executives of the association asked President Ceausescu to receive those tokens of esteem and admiration, and highlighted the traditional friendly and cooperative links between the Romanian and Spanish peoples, founded on their common descent, their linguistic and cultural affinities, the two nation's ideals of and aspirations after peace and progress.

Emphasis was placed on the broad appreciation the illustrious painter's work enjoys in Romania and a warm tribute was paid to the Romanian head of state, President Nicolae Ceausescu, who was conveyed cordial congratulations, the best wishes of good health and personal happiness, as well as wishes of peace and prosperity for the Romanian people.

The distinctions were conferred as a token of great consideration for President Nicolae Ceausescu's personality, his prodigious activity dedicated to Romania's thriving, the attainment of the Romanian people's aspirations for material and spiritual well-being, the promotion of all nations' ideals of freedom, independence and progress, the building of a better and more just world, free of weapons and wars, a world of peace, understanding and cooperation.

CSO: 2020/188

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA ON CSCE CALLS FOR MORE EFFORT FOR SECURITY

AU301032 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 30 Jul 85

["Ten Years Since the Final Act Was Signed in Helsinki--Continuity of Efforts by All States as an Essential Demand for European Security"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Jul (AGERPRES)--Romania saw the continuity of the process initiated by the 1975 summit as a major condition for the fulfillment of the provisions made in its document, for the transformation of Europe into a continent of security, cooperation and understanding among peoples SCINTEIA newspaper writes in an article titled as above, run in its 30 July issue, in the series of articles marking the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

With reference to the first all-European meeting in the Finnish capital, which Romania considers as a "launching pad" to further actions and pointing to President Nicolae Ceausescu's great emphasis on the need for a continuing dialogue among the participating states, SCINTEIA further reads: In ten years since the final act was signed the course of events has unfortunately failed to meet the people's expectations. The deterioration of the political situation mainly as a result of the unprecedented intensification of arming, nuclear first and foremost, perpetual interference and the continuation of the policy of force and pressure, as well as mounting tension have shown most clearly that the institutional framework for multilateral negotiations among the 35 participant states should be maintained and developed. In times of crucial importance for the Helsinki process, like the all-European conference in Belgrade and eventually the one in Madrid, Romania and other countries deeply attached to the aim of European security and cooperation stressed that it was important to maintain the CSCE institutional framework which they saw as a cornerstone in the fulfillment of the obligations assumed under the final act and, anyway, the least to be expected from these gatherings.

Surveying the meeting either held or in progress, the newspaper shows that the merit of those meetings, whose meagre results, at times, were disappointing for peoples, was that they continued the flow of contacts and negotiations, and maintained an organized framework of debate and development of European cooperation.

Considering the Stockholm Conference, the first all-European forum to negotiate and adopt measures on the military aspects of European security, SCINTEIA draws attention to the fact that a real and effective security on this continent is inconceivable in the absence of concrete measures to reduce and stop arming and pass on to disarmament, and that both goals are considerably easier to reach if confidence among the states of the continent grows.

In connection with the document Romania tabled at the conference, which enjoyed wide interest and gathered many positive appreciations owing to the realistic character of the proposals set forth, as well as with other proposals advanced by various states, the paper writes: Unfortunately, for all the efforts made by the majority of participating states, effective negotiations have not yet started on a first package of confidence- and security-building measures, as the complex situation in the continent and worldwide has made its impact on the conference. It is quite obvious that a break from the state of expectation, some progress in the Stockholm negotiations, the covenanting of confidence- and security-building measures would be of paramount significance under the current circumstances, favoring the unfolding of disarmament negotiations in other fora, all while positively bearing on the process of building security in Europe and on the international political climate.

Highlighting the interrelationship between all-European and regional security, and stressing the significance Romania attaches transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and good neighborliness, of cooperation and understanding, free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, SCINTEIA writes: Romania views the transformation of the Balkans into a region of peace, understanding and manysided cooperation, without nuclear weapons, as well as the creation of other suchlike areas on the continent, as part of the general efforts for security and cooperation in Europe, as a major contribution to the attainment of this target.

The article winds up: At present, it is all the more so necessary that all political, democratic forces, all peoples step up their concerted efforts, as the situation on the continent is considerably more serious than 10 years ago, when the Helsinki Final Act was signed. The continuation at a steady pace of the arms race, the deployment of further nuclear missiles in Europe, the outer space militarization plans are factors that seriously enhance tension and pose major threats to the security and life of European peoples and humankind. The Romanian party and state did not share the opinion according to which the passage to the siting of the new nuclear rockets, by ignoring peoples' will, would have meant the end of the failure of the peace and disarmament movements. On the contrary, President Nicolae Ceausescu has shown that peoples have not had their say as yet, that they can change the course of events and make their will be observed by those responsible for the cause of peace, for the safeguarding of individuals' foremost right to life. In light of this truth, Romania has urged and unrelentingly urges a more powerful stepping up of the big peace movements in Europe and worldwide, in which the Romanian people has joined with all its might, in concordance with the prerequisite for peaceful development of the continent, of mankind as a whole.

It is to that effect that a solemn appeal was made by President Nicolae Ceausescu on all democratic political forces, all peoples to step up their concerted struggle to achieve disarmament and remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, to build a united Europe of collaboration, security and peace, ten years after the successful conclusion of the first conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

CSO: 2020/188

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

BUCHAREST EARTHQUAKE--Bucharest, 1 Aug (AGERPRES)--The Bucharest Centre of Physics of the Earth and Seismology reports: An earthquake of the 4.7 intensity (Richter scale) took place on 1 August 1985, 14:18 hrs (Bucharest time) in the Vrancea region, at the depth of 120 km. In the epicentre the intensity of the earthquake was IV-V (Mercalli). It was felt in Bucharest. The same day, at 17:35 (Bucharest time) another earthquake occurred in the Vrancea zone, at the depth of 100 km, measuring 5.2 (Richter scale) and VI degrees (Mercalli) in the epicenter. The intensity in Bucharest was V degrees. No material damage occurred. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1732 GMT 1 Aug 85]

PRC'S PLA ANNIVERSARY--On the 58th anniversary of the creation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Shi Shangwen, [name as published] military, naval, and air attache at the PRC Embassy in Bucharest gave a cocktail party 30 July. The party was attended by Lieutenant General Victor Stanculescu, first deputy minister of national defense; Ion Popescu-Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association; representatives from the management of certain ministries and central institutions; men of culture and art; generals and high-ranking officers, and by journalists. Military, naval, and air attaches of other countries in Bucharest were also present. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Jul 85 p 5]

CSO: 2020/188

YUGOSLAVIA

MISTREATMENT OF, DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 30 Jun/1 Jul 85 p 9

[Article by K. Xixa]

[Excerpt] More than 4 years have now passed since the population of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo demonstrated for human rights against the government. The Yugoslav Government has repeatedly made promises to the Albanians in that area which have not been kept, however, up to now.

Most of the proceeds from Kosovo's economic production is used for all-Yugoslav purposes, in order to repay debts throughout the world. Serbia and other republics have profited from the many millions of dollars which have been borrowed abroad, but nothing has been done to modernize the economy of Kosovo or other areas inhabited by Albanians.

The demonstrations of March 1981 were directed against the Yugoslav Government's discrimination against Kosovo and its Albanian population. The protection of human rights and the independence of Kosovo and the other Albanian-inhabited regions within the framework of the Yugoslav federal state were demanded.

The Yugoslavs reacted with brutality and, with the help of the Army, terrorized the Albanian people. Hundreds were killed and several thousand are still in Yugoslav prisons. The worst prison is the central prison in Belgrade where many Albanians have been tortured and some of them have died from this. The last victim, as reported recently, was the Albanian Shemsiu Zijah.

Shemsiu Zijah was born 1 July 1950 in the vicinity of Perlepnica. He received his teacher's diploma from the high school in Gilane [Gnjilane] where he could not work, however, because of the bad economic conditions, and was forced to go abroad.

Together with the communist Kadri Zeka and many others, he became a member of the movement for an Albanian socialist republic in Yugoslavia. He participated in all demonstrations which were organized by Albanian emigres in Western Europe in support of the people of Kosovo.

Together with other friends Zijah undertook to inform world opinion about the tragedy of the Albanian people in Kosovo. On 9 October 1983 he brought propaganda material into Yugoslavia. Together with Samij Kurteshi, Zijah was arrested by the Yugoslav secret police, was horribly mistreated during an interrogation, taken to the Belgrade central prison, and later sentenced to 13 years. His father and two brothers were also sentenced with him.

On 4 May 1985 the Zijah family was informed of the death of their son, and asked to take his body from the prison in Belgrade.

CSO: 2300/479

END